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EGYPT
UNDER MEHEMET ALI.

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VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE following work has lain in my portfolio for a considerable time, precisely as it now appears, in every essential point. A final revision was all that was requisite to complete it for publication. I believe this delay will not do the work any injury, for the interest of the public in the affairs of Egypt was at the time it was written almost blunted by the redundant competition which prevailed, and they may now be glad to read an unaltered description of that country as it then was, and as it has unhappily ceased to be.

This reflection, however, is of course of recent date; and if I am asked why I have so long delayed the publication of this work, I really know not what cau to assign. On the one hand, returning to my est after an absence of seven years, my attention was m engaged in its improvement than in literary pur

On the other hand, I was perhaps instigated by a feeling of modesty to abstain from inundating the public, year after year, with publications from the same pen, however indulgently those writings had been received by the greater portion of my readers. But though my modesty kept me in the back-ground, I could not conceal from myself that the very thing which I considered my greatest merit, namely my candour, and consequent independence, which raised me above paying unconditional respect to any party view, placed me in the unhappy predicament of the poor Bat—between the Birds and the Beasts. The Aristocrats thought me too liberal, the Liberals too aristocratic; the Formalists called me impious, the Unbelievers sanctimonious; the *Bureaucratie* represented me as a semi-revolutionist, while the Democrats affirmed that I was a time-server—that I took good care not to give positive offence, and, when expediency required, flattered the ruling powers. In short, I could not please anybody.

Had the consequences of all this affected my literary reputation merely, they would have given me little concern; but I had to learn to my cost, that these views

began to exercise a considerable influence on my social position, and did me real injury, both positively and negatively. Now, as I cannot play the hypocrite, and on the other hand feel little inclination to act the part of a Don Quixote—sacrificing myself without necessity, and without success—I thought it best to delay again appearing as an Author, till some propitious conjuncture should arrive.

Besides this, there was one species of criticism that really vexed me: I mean that which constantly reproached me with being neither a poet nor a man of letters. If I had ever made such a pretension—even in the remotest degree—these critics would be perfectly in the right; but as I have never even dreamt of aspiring after such honours, the reproach is as absurd as if we were to despise the violet because it is not an oak. Sterne, Lord Chesterfield, and Madame de Sévigné were neither poets nor literati, and happy should I esteem myself if I possessed but one hundredth part of their reputation. This at least I may venture to say, that I have always written for good company, which never consists of pedants.

But why, after so much bitter experience

again upon the literary stage?—Dear reader, there are some reasons which I cannot communicate to you—and experience has doubtless taught you, that he who has once tasted the forbidden fruit, is but too prone to relapse into the same sin.

WALDEANSAMKEIT,

February 29, 1844.

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INTRODUCTION.

As the following Work derives its title from, and will, in a great measure, relate to Mehemet Ali—a man in regard to whom I am of opinion that no one is more blindly judged of in Europe,—I must prefix, at the very outset, some general remarks, in order to state my view of the political events which have so materially and so deplorably changed all the relations of the East, since my return from Egypt.

I am well aware that a defeated hero is always in the wrong, and that the fickle multitude ever judges according to the passing result, though in the sequel, when temporary passions and interests have subsided, a more philosophic view of the past places historical truth on its just basis. Thus, Napoleon, after having shone so long as a meteor, was degraded to the very dust, and universally calumniated, being for a time denied every degree of merit and goodness—because he had fallen! Now, however, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, since he disappeared from th stage, the multitude again pay him the tribute unbounded admiration and respect, and the sa people who were wearied of him, and abandoned

in time of need, have, with the most profound veneration and religious pomp, brought home his mortal remains across the ocean.

I do not, however, think of placing Mehemet Ali in the same rank with Napoleon, but both have points of resemblance, and in future times nations will do more justice to Mehemet Ali, and be constrained to acknowledge that they are pre-eminently indebted to the operations of his distinguished mind for that beneficent and mighty impetus, which has given to the East the germ of a new epoch of civilisation. True, it is only a germ; but it is a fructifying germ, which he has faithfully cherished with indefatigable perseverance, with the highest degree of judgment of which he was capable, attended with the utmost success of which his times were susceptible. For, let us remember that the Mussulmans—standing quite out of Europe, in respect to the influences of civilisation—are, in the thirteenth century of their Hegira, almost in the same mediæval position as we were after the lapse of the same number of centuries from the appearance of our Divine Prophet; a position from which we extricated ourselves, not only with vast and energetic toil and labour, but also through torrents of blood. Hence, experience itself teaches us that an advance in civilisation in such a period, even though produced by the most energetic hand, cannot at once attain the state in which we now stand. But what, let me ask, was our position in those middle ages? I believe that, with respect to cruelty and crime, rudeness and corruption of morals, arbitrary power and intolerance, and the insupportable yoke of the mighty, descending through

all classes, the state of Egypt, under Mehemet Ali, may be deemed splendid, in comparison with that of most of the countries of Europe in those dark ages.

The incontestable merits of Mehemet Ali, which stand out in uncontrovertible facts before all men, are the following:—with admirable talent for organisation, he has introduced, into one of the most neglected countries of the world, order and security, those first desiderata of a civilised state; and this he has effected to such an extent that, where formerly robbery and death threatened the traveller at every step, he may now, though laden with gold and costly wares, safely and fearlessly traverse the immense dominions of Mehemet Ali, from Mount Taurus to the frontiers of Abyssinia, as far as his sway extends between the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Desert.

In the administration of justice, and in the government of his territory, he has introduced greater equity, and more fixed rules, than at present exist in any other Oriental State.

He has fettered fanaticism; exercised greater tolerance in religious matters, than is found in many Christian States; and he has not only protected the Christians in his own dominions, but has favoured them to such a degree as was deemed almost harsh towards the Mussulmans.

He has not only animated the commerce of Egypt with Europe, but he has, in a great measure, created anew; and, by the most splendid establishments and institutions of all kinds he has revived, to the great advantage of Egypt, an interest in manufactures which was wholly lost in that country.

He was the first to encourage the cultivation of cotton, indigo, and sugar, which is now carried on with constantly-increasing success; and a great part of these productions is consumed in his own countries, by the manufactories established at his expense. In like manner, he greatly improved the culture of silk in Syria, by the most extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, but which have been, for the most part, destroyed in the war carried on by the English for the liberation (!) of that country.

For the improvement of future generations, he has founded a system of schools and education, of which not the smallest conception had existed in the East for hundreds of years, and he has expended immense sums for this purpose.

He has erected more buildings, and has called more useful institutions into existence, than any Sovereign of Egypt, since the time of Saladin.

Besides all this, he, who found Egypt without a ship, and without a single disciplined soldier, has created the means of building twelve ships of the line and twice as many frigates and corvettes, and of forming an army, disciplined in a European manner, of more than 100,000 men. And with these resources, the Albanian peasant, who did not learn to read till he was thirty-five years of age, the insignificant chief who, a hundred times in his life, did not know where he could repose his head in safety, has become a prince, whose armies have twice made "the Sovereign of the Faithful," at Byzantium, tremble on his throne, whose ever-increasing importance already began to win him a place among the great powers of the world.

At length, however, after such great deeds and victories, he was proscribed by European interest, as the dreaded Corsican had been before him (but with much less reason), and in this unequal contest has fallen with unforeseen rapidity.

His discomfiture, as might have been expected, instantly aroused a swarm of detractors, of every shade and colour, who fell with increased fury upon the sick lion who had so long been the object of their envy; and, not content therewith, they proceeded at the same time triumphantly to pass sentence on those who had been so besotted as to consider this vanquished hero as an eminent and a great man, and had even publicly stated that such was their opinion.

In Mehemet Ali's misfortune, we find very many points of resemblance with that of Napoleon; thus, in the first place, he, in fact, fell only through a concurrence of the most untoward circumstances, which could not be foreseen, and which, for the most part, were quite beyond his control; secondly, at the decisive moment, he was abandoned by his most powerful ally, on whose co-operation he had founded all his plans; thirdly and lastly, he did not follow up his preceding good fortune with the consistency of an Alexander or a Cæsar, nor did he perseveringly pursue an undertaking till he brought it to a successful issue. Had Napoleon or Mehemet Ali been in the place of Alexander, they would have concluded peace with the King of the Persians after the first battle—though not without the intention of recommencing hostilities at some future opportunity. But in prosperity, it is necessary completely to profit by opportunity, [redacted]

it is present. In adversity, however, Mehemet Ali manifested more coolness and prudence than Napoleon, though his mode of procedure cannot be called heroic.

From the very moment when Mehemet Ali found himself abandoned by France, and left to contend alone with the united powers of England and Austria, he may be said to have defended himself only *pro forma*, for he was too perspicacious not to see, at once, that he had no possible chance of success at the long run. But as he was neither obstinate nor vain enough to desire all or nothing, as the day was unpropitious, and the chances were all against him, he did not choose to stake all upon one card, and threw up the game. By this step he reserved to himself the possibility of recommencing hostilities, if more favourable circumstances should offer. When St. Jean d'Acre had been, properly speaking, not taken, but blown up and destroyed by the irresistible force of 500 cannon, at the distance of musket-shot, the Viceroy thought only of retaining what was not yet lost.* I know, from the best authority, that at the very commencement of the war, Ibrahim had received instructions to this effect from his father, and this circumstance will sufficiently account for the inertness and negative mode of carrying on the war adopted by this General, who has otherwise proved himself so energetic and decisive.

The part of a man like Mehemet Ali can, however,

* The English themselves boasted, in the *Morning Chronicle*, at time a Ministerial paper), that "by the immense advantage which greatly-improved moveable sea-batteries now afforded, no for- capable of bombardment from the sea could resist a fleet with 00 guns." These laurels, therefore, were easily gained.

never be considered completed, so long as he holds all the elements of power in his own hand. With consummate skill and ability he has succeeded in maintaining this power, as well as his actual independence; and who among the children of men can predict whether Providence, which assigned him a high destination in the history of the world, has indeed wholly deprived him of this office? At all events, it is absurd to conclude, from the great diminution of his importance, that a man who, by his extraordinary actions, has for so many years fixed the eyes of the world upon him, is, in fact, no better than a juggler, who has hitherto amused Europe and the East with mere illusion and charlatanry,—a circumstance which, by-the-by, would be less flattering to the deceived than to the deceiver.

It is, however, a fact, and a very remarkable one, that a chief cause of the rapid fall of Mehemet Ali is to be found in his most meritorious actions. By his efforts to raise the people of the East to a higher degree of culture—and, for the furtherance of this object, by his approximating more and more in his own person to European manners and customs; by his endeavours to introduce many of them generally; and, by his proceedings, directing the whole course of his government towards the attainment of this object, so that even the Sultan, following his example, adopted the same course, an entirely new spirit was awakened in the East. Those nations which had so long been stationary, now began to perceive that they had need of foreign influence; and that nothing, but blending with European civilisation (I do not mean mere servile

imitation, and still less religious conversion) could give them a new re-organisation of their own, and thus obtain for them a more secure and more happy internal condition than they had hitherto enjoyed under any Mahometan sceptre. A direct supremacy of European Powers had hence, for some considerable length of time, been deemed not only possible, but desirable; as they would thus receive *directly* what Mehemet Ali could only give them *indirectly* and *imperfectly*. When therefore the English and Germans entered the lists against him, the population of Syria met them with open arms, and immediately fell off from the Egyptian Government, with the exception of Emir Beschir, who possessed more penetration, and had, besides, the same interest as Mehemet Ali. Notwithstanding this, the Syrians knew full well that, even under the iron rule of Ibrahim's sabre, and the oppressions of his unworthy favourites (for Mehemet Ali had, unfortunately, given up Syria without restriction to his son), they were much better off than they had ever been under the feeble government of the Sultan; and that, on the other hand, if the old relations should return, they must fall into infinitely greater misery. They were, however, sanguine, and had an indistinct hope of quite a new state of things—of a new Master, who should be given them by Europe, and not by Turkey. This notion was cherished by many in Syria, especially on the sea-coast and in Lebanon, where a great proportion of the most influential inhabitants are Christians; while the Druses, who are an equally powerful body, not only manifest no religious intolerance, but, on the contrary, easily accommodate themselves to any

creed.* Even a great number of educated Mussulmans entertained similar thoughts; and I was astonished to find that this idea (so diametrically opposed to the former fanatical views of these countries) obtained not only in Syria, but even in Asia Minor; and though, doubtless, not clearly defined to the bulk of the population, yet evidently germinating among them, and already spread to a remarkable extent over the more reflecting part of the people.

I am, therefore, stating no more than truth when I say that the present conquerors are mainly indebted to Mehemet Ali himself for the important advantage which they possess, of having the people on their side; an advantage which tended to his overthrow (as the same endeavour undermined Mahmoud's power), but which, upon the whole, is a benefit to the East.

I shall merely add a few personal particulars, which I should pass over altogether, were it not necessary to state them for the sake of the weak-minded and the credulous.

It has been asserted in several public journals that the reason I zealously take the part of Mehemet Ali, is only because he loaded me with presents and favours; nay, these journals have almost asserted that I was as good as in his pay.

With respect to the favours and partiality which I certainly did enjoy, and that for a long time, in no ordinary degree, I shall always entertain feelings of gratitude and personal satisfaction for them; and

* Emir Beschir professed to be both a Christian and a Mahometan at the same time; and would have become a Jew, if his doing so would have procured him the sceptre of Syria.

the more so, as the Viceroy, at my sole intercession, unreservedly restored to one of the richest and most eminent merchants of Cairo the liberty which he had legally forfeited, with the loss of the greater part of his fortune. According to Oriental custom, I was considered for many months as the Prince's guest, and, as such, had free lodging and provisions both in Cairo and in Alexandria; attended with a degree of splendour with which I would willingly have dispensed, because it laid me under much constraint; and everybody knows well enough that the hospitality of the Great in the East must often be repaid doubly and trebly to their servants. Mehemet Ali was, besides, well aware that the Bey of Tunis had already treated me with the same munificence.

With respect to presents, I affirm most unequivocally that I never received from Mehemet Ali any other gift than a foal; and this I highly value, because he himself selected it for me from his stud at Shoubra. Ibrahim Pasha, likewise, gave me two foals of his breed.

The conveyance of these animals, for which I had to hire a ship on purpose to Trieste, cost me much more than they were worth, and among the genuine Arab horses, which I afterwards purchased in the Desert, there is not one which is not ten times as valuable as these three foals.

It is a singular circumstance by the way, that Mehemet Ali's spirited stallion, which had become a good hunter, received a mortal injury in leaping over a stream, on the same day that St. Jean D'Acre fell.

Perhaps, however, I remained too long in Egypt.

The character of the Orientals is full of suspicion, and Mehemet Ali, more than any other person, has too often had good reason to distrust Europeans. The distinction with which he treated me, and the unmerited importance which he awarded me, excited the envy and ill-will of many influential persons, Europeans as well as Turks; independently of which, whenever Mehemet Ali required it, I communicated to him, quite unreservedly, and perhaps injudiciously, my views respecting everybody and everything. Accordingly I soon perceived that all sorts of intrigues were at work against me, but I cared not a straw about them. At this time, (that is, during my second residence at Cairo, when I had wholly declined Mehemet Ali's generous hospitality), I sent an article to the Augsburg "Algemeine Zeitung," which contained some very innocent remarks on the corpulency of Said Bey, the Viceroy's youngest son, to which, however, an unfavourable colouring was given, by the unlucky circumstance that the Editor thought fit to head the article with the words "The Corpulent Prince." This was translated and read to Mehemet Ali; from that moment I observed a certain degree of coldness, and a decrease of familiarity in his manners, which grieved me, but against which I could do nothing, since any explanation would only have made the matter worse.

It appears from all this (and I might have alluded to other circumstances of a similar character), that my relations with Mehemet Ali were not always unclouded, and that ultimately I could not have felt myself called upon, from personal motives, to take up my pen in his defence, had not the most sincere reverence for

the eminent qualities and the great historical importance of this Prince, induced me now, as it did then, impartially to say of him what I believe to be the truth, and thereby, as far as my feeble powers extend, to defend him against the unjust accusations, and the ill-founded judgments, with which German authors and journalists so perseveringly pursue him; a circumstance which is the more singular, as the most distinguished men, both English and French,—and among them the brave Commodore who fought against him with so much energy,—have invariably done him more justice.

EGYPT

UNDER

MEHEMET ALI.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

A GLORIOUS, ardent sun ushered in the morning of the new year of 1837; a warm balsamic air breathed over the voluptuously rolling sea, but isolated black clouds hurriedly traversed the heavens, and frequently concealed from our sight the beneficent orb of day —an image of human life, even when most propitious.

Mount Ida, clothed with the newly-drifted snow, shone splendidly in a sparkling robe of spotless white, relieved by the dark, deeply-indented garland of the rocks and mountains of Candia, which encompassed this classic beauty like a faithful body-guard. We glided gently along the smooth surface of the waters, in our comfortable felucca, and approached the brig Semindidshad, belonging to the Viceroy of Egypt, which was waiting for me in the naked, sterile bay of the island of Dur, and welcomed me with a salute of her guns. An historical interest is attached to

this little brig, for Osman Pacha, the Viceroy's ungrateful favourite, fled in this vessel to the Sultan, at Constantinople.

I went on board with my small retinue, and in a few minutes found myself the only European (excepting one of my servants, who is a German,) among some hundred Candiots, Arabs, Turks, and Negroes, men of a strange countenance, and, for the most part, of a strange language; each of them, however, was eager to testify his respect. The captain's cabin, which was supplied with all necessary conveniences, was obligingly assigned to me by Mustapha Pacha's order, and everything seemed to promise a most favourable voyage through the Lybian sea; but I had too lively a remembrance of my usual fate on the ocean, confidently to indulge in any such hopes.

Towards evening we entered a part of the sea which was still agitated by the violent south wind of the preceding week. The waves beat furiously against us, and gave the most disagreeable shocks to our vessel, and the favourable north wind by which we were impelled, rose, during the night, almost to a storm. I had, with much pains, arranged my cabin in apple-pie order, but alas, it soon came to a tragical end! In a few moments all the tables, with papers, books, bottles and glasses, were overthrown with a terrible crash, and, while I held fast by my bed, at least to maintain my own post, a cask rolled across the deck, over the skylight of my sleeping cabin, and shattered the glass into a hundred pieces, which showered down upon me like pointed icicles.

It was quite out of the question to think of clear-

ing this chaotic mass, during the violent rocking of the brig, over which the waves continually dashed; beside this, all my servants were for many hours in such an agony of sea-sickness, that not one of them was visible for two days and nights, during all which time this storm lasted. Had not an old negro, from Senaar, taken pity on me, I should have had no assistance whatever; for neither the captain, of whom the negro said, with some contempt, "that he was himself sea-sick," nor any one of the crew, made their appearance. In general, so much confusion seemed to prevail in the command, and all evolutions were performed so slowly, and with such noise—so different to what we are accustomed to in European men-of-war—that had I seen nothing more of Mehemet Ali's fleet than this brig, I should have formed a very unfavourable opinion of it.

Nothing was to be done but to fortify myself with patience, to remain in bed as quietly as, under existing circumstances, was possible, and to leave my broken, scattered effects to roll themselves into order again as best they might. In this predicament I remained fifty hours with real Turkish phlegma, little affected by sea sickness, but quite unable to move. More than once I attempted, with no small pains, to perform the feat of drinking a cup of broth, which my compassionate negro presented to me in all the attitudes of a rope-dancer, in order to avoid spilling the half of it on my bed; he also brought me a joint of mutton, which I endeavoured to pull to pieces with my fingers, so that at all events I might not be wholly deprived of necessary food.

The storm did not abate till after the space of nearly three days, during which we had made way by day with close-reefed sails, and by night had cautiously lain to, but had, notwithstanding, made from five to six knots an hour. To my great joy I at length heard from one of my resuscitated servants, that the Bay of Aboukir was visible on one side above the tossing waves, and that the Arsenal of Alexandria could be distinguished in the distant horizon. Though still greatly discomposed, and tormented with a violent headache—the usual effect of sea-sickness—I quickly threw on my cloak and ascended the deck.

The ash-coloured waves still beat high against our vessel, which continued to rock from side to side, though in rather a more bearable degree than before. The sight of the sea, tinted by the waters of the Nile, and the view of Egypt, for which I had been longing so ardently, soon made me forget all my past sufferings and troubles. I rejoiced in the thought that, within a few hours, I should have the delight of setting my foot in the proud city of the immortal Macedonians, which, called into new life by a second Macedonian hero, and under him already raised to splendour, now lay before me with all its thousand romantic reminiscences, between the desert and the sea.

Alexandria, in its mingled oriental and European character, rose above the waves, and like a fata morgana, towered above the flat sandy banks, which sometimes appeared suddenly behind the foaming billows, and then again rapidly vanished from our sight. I saw before me, apparently resting on

no solid basis, and as if floating in the air, glimmering white palaces, crenated walls, verdant palm-groves, and Pompey's lofty Pillar, fronted by a forest of masts, which extended from one end to the other of the noble harbour. A fort now stands on the site of the celebrated ancient Pharos of the Ptolemies, and the extensive residence of the Viceroy separates the new from the old harbour, which have changed places; for the old harbour is the only one that is used, and the new harbour does not contain any ships, and is choked up by the sand.

The whole scene was in the highest degree striking and uncommon, and the nearer we approached, the more extraordinary did it appear; the sight of the fleet especially, that colossal work which had been formed in the space of not more than eight years, by the hand of a creative genius, quite surprised me. It was the commencement of the festival of the Bairam, and, ten ships of the line, each of more than one hundred guns, six frigates, of above fifty, and twenty corvettes and brigs, were ranged in long rows, and adorned with innumerable flags and streamers of various colours, from the top-mast down to the very deck, and afforded a festive appearance of rare splendour. Scarcely had the pilot conducted us through the shallow entrance, when all the forts and vessels commenced a fire, which gave a complete notion of a naval engagement.

The palaces, the ships, the sea itself, vanished in a few seconds; clouds of smoke filled the atmosphere; nothing was to be seen but the red flashes of the cannon, nothing to be heard but their deafening

thunder, to the right and to the left, before and behind us, as though Alexandria were a volcano, emitting its fire on every side. The genius of the man who holds sway here, seemed to dwell upon the waters, and to announce itself in all its power and greatness. The whole inspired me with an elevating feeling: it was a noble reception on the frontiers of the mysterious kingdom—of that country of ancient and modern wonders which at length lay before me; and, with profound emotion, I thanked Providence, which, after many difficulties and dangers, had at length brought me thither in safety.

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDRIA—RECEPTION—BESSON—BOGHOS BEY.

We had scarcely cast anchor, when I received notice of a visit from the Captain-General of the Fleet, Besson Bey, who, being informed of my expected arrival, by the Seraskier of Candia, most obligingly offered me apartments in his residence, in the new Ibrahim Square, and at the same time informed me that his equipage was on the shore, ready to convey me thither as soon as might be convenient to me.

This Frenchman, who is the soul of the Egyptian Marine, and is highly honoured by Mehemet Ali, is the same Captain Besson who was formerly in the French service, and who made an offer to Napoleon, when he was at Rochefort, to take him to America; but the Emperor, in spite of Besson's entreaties, persisted in his fatal resolution to trust himself to the generosity of the English. Besson sailed only one day before the Emperor, and did not meet a single enemy's ship on the whole voyage.*

I requested to be allowed a short time to reduce

* It may here be proper to mention a circumstance which has not, to my knowledge, been anywhere referred to. "In the year 1815, while Napoleon was still in the field, I received from Germany a printed paper, purporting to be the substance of a treaty between England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France (*i. e.* the Bourbon family), the principal stipulation of which was, that in case Napoleon should, in the course of the war, be taken prisoner by the

the chaos of my effects on board into something like order; and, on my landing half an hour afterwards, at the New Quay (without any molestation from the importunate populace, which had proved so troublesome at Algiers and other sea-ports), I found an elegant English carriage, drawn by two Arabian horses, ready for me, and several gigantic camels to convey my luggage. Well pleased at feeling terra firma under my feet, I hastily stepped into the britschka, and drove rapidly through the narrow streets of the Turkish part of the city, filled with a motley and dirty crowd—soldiers in red, white, and green uniforms, with shining arms; and, as Mr. Von Prokesch remarks so appropriately, "with its oriental strata of stench and perfumes." I soon reached the quarter of the Franks, the neat and cleanly appearance of which, and its palaces built entirely in the European style, would be an ornament to any city in our civilised part of the world, though a portion of the ground on which they stand was but lately gained from the sea. All the foreign consuls reside here; and their immense flags, which were displayed on account of the Bairam, added the more to the festive appearance of the whole, because light circular flights of steps lead to the very top of the staffs to which these flags are fastened, and which are planted on the highest terraces of the houses.

armies of any of the Allied Powers, he should be given up to England, to be conveyed to a distant island in the ocean."

I am not certain, but it seems to me that the Island of St. Helena was expressly mentioned. The supposed motive for this stipulation was lest, if Napoleon should fall into the hands of one of the Continental Powers, he might, at some future time, be made an instrument of further troubles.—H. E. L.

The worthy General received me at the door of his mansion, assigned to me a richly furnished, extensive suite of rooms, introduced me to M. Roquerbes, the Prussian consul, who resided above me in the same house, and provided so kindly, and so completely for all my wants, that he left me no room to wish for more.

I received the Viceroy's answer to the letters sent to his highness, as early as the following day; upon which, Boghos Bey, the principal and confidential minister of Mehemet Ali, honoured me with a visit.

Boghos Bey is an Armenian Christian, who commenced his career as a dragoman, but by his talents, his fidelity, and extremely conciliatory manner towards high and low, has gained the entire favour of his master, and much popularity, both with strangers and natives, especially with the lower classes. His personal appearance is distinguished by the greatest simplicity; and his manners, though certainly those of a man of the world, are almost studiously humble, but by no means devoid of dignity, or of evident consciousness of his important position in the state, and of the great influence which he enjoys with his master. It is said that once only, and that a long time ago, he lost this favour, for some unknown reason; when Mehemet Ali's anger was excited to such a degree, that he ordered Boghos to be privately executed. The consul Rosetti saved him in a very singular, and almost romantic manner, and kept him concealed till the Pacha, who believed that his orders had long since been executed, manifested great sorrow at having lost a man whose services were indispensable to him.

His friends now ventured to acquaint Mehemet Ali with the truth, and from that moment the confidence which he reposed in Boghos Bey has never, so far as is known, received a second shock. The gratitude of the minister to his deliverer was deep and abiding, and since his death has been unremittingly continued to his family and heirs.

As all commercial affairs and intercourse with the consuls, as well as the foreign policy of the state, are directed by Boghos Bey, and as the viceroy is now the only gigantic merchant in his dominions, where politics and commerce are more blended together than in any other country, we may judge of the extent of the sphere of action and occupation intrusted to Boghos Bey. He is now about sixty years of age, and has sparkling little eyes, full of fire and cunning, with a rather restless expression, which he very characteristically endeavours to moderate as much as possible, and seeks to conceal, by drawing his head-dress over his forehead. He manifests no affectation of business, and is very easy of access; he is indefatigable in his labours, invariably affable to everybody, an enemy to luxury and ostentation, very reserved, and, without doubt, the most cunning of the cunning. This last trait is a subject of complaint among the merchants; yet every one prefers having transactions with him than with any other man in power, because cunning proceeds more gently than brute force, though the final result may often be the same.

I shall probably have frequent occasion to speak of this man, who is so indispensable to Egypt; and it may suffice to add here, that our first conversation, which embraced many and various subjects, produced in me

a lively interest, and that the friendly and flattering words which he addressed to me, in the name of his Highness the Viceroy, excited both my surprise and my warmest gratitude.

During my present stay at Alexandria, I saw him sometimes in his own residence, and every visit confirmed the advantageous opinion which I had conceived of him at our first interview. I could not help admiring his acuteness in judging of European affairs and policy, and being much struck with the dexterity of the accomplished courtier, and the graceful manners displayed by a man who had never enjoyed any of the advantages of a European education. Lastly, it is almost a duty, here to express my gratitude for the wholly unmerited distinctions which I experienced from him, by order of the Viceroy. Equipages and saddle-horses belonging to his Highness, were placed at my disposal, and even a guard of honour was sent me, which I had much difficulty in declining. When I visited the fleet, I was received by the admiral with the same marks of honour as had been shown me in Candia; every wish that I expressed, whatever it might be, was immediately complied with, and with the greatest readiness; and I was permitted to see anything I desired, without the slightest mystery being made about it.*

* Boghos Bey, as my readers must be aware, died lately. His death has been a great loss to the Viceroy, who had few servants more faithful, and certainly none more able. The envious hatred of the great men ventured to betray itself at the grave of Boghos Bey. Europeans have cause to honour his memory, which they have indeed proved by their sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES.

After discharging the usual duties of social etiquette, my first business naturally was to inspect the few remains of antiquity of which Alexandria can still boast. Mounds of *débris*, formed in the course of thousands of years, extending between the sea and lake Mareotis, are the only remnants of so many past splendours, and of a city containing 600,000 inhabitants, which, for a long period, was considered the second city in the world, and which may perhaps again be elevated to that dignity. Amid this mass of confusion, however, we may still clearly distinguish the position of the main street, which led from the Canopus gate to the Necropolis, thirty stadia in length from east to west. Many columns which were still standing along this street only ten years ago, have been since pulled down, and partly employed in the erection of the Arsenal. Of the second magnificent street, which crossed the others from the gate of the Sun to that of the Moon, not a trace remains, and only Pompey's Pillar, as it is called, Cleopatra's Needles, and the Catacombs, are worth a visit.

All these have been so repeatedly described, that I may dismiss them with a few words. I inspected them on an interesting ride, in company with

M. Lesseps, the highly polished consul of France, and a young physician named Aubert, who, by his intrepidity and ability during the prevalence of the plague and the cholera, has acquired a high reputation here. He assured us, that he considered the death of a plague patient one of the happiest, for it was attended with little pain, and pleasing illusions smoothed the passage to the unknown world. Alexandria is scarcely ever altogether free from the plague, and even now there were constantly several cases, though the epidemic has long since ceased. Happily this scourge is, of all contagious disorders, that which may most easily be guarded against by prudence. Her cruel sister the cholera is, in every respect, far more formidable.

In viewing the two obelisks of rose-coloured granite, called Cleopatra's Needles (a hyper-poetic name), which formerly stood together before the Temple of Cæsar, and one of which is thrown down, I was struck with the powerful effects of the weather in this favourable climate, which has almost totally destroyed the hieroglyphics carved, above an inch deep, on the east side of the standing obelisk; while the inscription on its west side is in a state of perfect preservation. Surrounded as these Needles are by high piles of rubbish, they produce but little effect, though their masses are very considerable, being of single blocks, eighty feet in length. It is much to be lamented that it is now too difficult to remove them, and to attach them to other buildings.

M. Von Prokesch states that the prostrate obelisk was presented to the king of England by Mehemet

Ali, who even offered to be at the cost of conveying it to the sea-side; but that the engineer who was sent here, found that the expense of conveying it to England would be too great. Unhappily, the French were not deterred by such considerations, with regard to the obelisk of Thebes. I say unhappily, because one of the most sublime and almost uninjured monuments of antiquity—the splendid temple of Luxor—has been greatly disfigured by the loss of one of its obelisks from before the entrance; while the two Needles at Alexandria might be removed to Europe, and there employed to adorn some magnificent edifice, and would not be missed here. They ought, however, to go together; for an obelisk standing alone is an anomaly which never occurred among the Egyptians, who only erected them in pairs, to adorn their grand entrances.

Pompey's Pillar, which is now ascribed to Diocletian, affords, from its elevated summit, an interesting panorama of the desert, the sea, and the city; its shaft of polished granite, which is of Egyptian workmanship, and fifty feet in height, is extremely beautiful; the upper part, added by the Romans, is positively barbarous; it is surrounded by a bare and desolate tract, so full of rat-holes that it is really dangerous to ride rapidly over it; and of this we had ample proof.

The Catacombs, and the small chambers in the rock, so ridiculously designated "the Baths of Cleopatra," are filled by the sea-water, and may perhaps have served for washing the dead, but assuredly were never used as baths by the living; and it is scarcely worth

the trouble to crawl through their dank chambers. They bear much resemblance to those of Milo, and have little of an Egyptian character; and still less do they possess anything remarkable as works of art, although obscure European travellers have sometimes thought it necessary to fall into ecstacies about them. The Fellah who went before us carrying a bundle of lighted fir-wood, accidentally extinguished his torch, and thus compelled us to remain much longer than was agreeable in the dark, in a suffocating heat, while he groped his way out to fetch another light. Though the remaining antiquities of Alexandria, *above* ground, are so inconsiderable, I wonder that no more frequent, and especially more thorough investigations have been attempted *under* ground, in this immense accumulation of *débris*, more particularly if we reflect that it was here that the hieroglyphic writing was first translated into the language of the conquerors; and that perhaps the discovery of one double inscription, like the Rosetta Stone, might, in the present state of inquiry, afford the most comprehensive results.*

* I hear that Lepsius has just made a discovery of this kind in Philæ,—Success attend him!

CHAPTER IV.

THE FELLAHS.

HAVING still a little spare time, we proceeded to the railway, which had been lately constructed for the purpose of conveying stones to the buildings which were in the course of erection along the shore. Here we found a great number of Fellahs, men, women, and children at work. The Viceroy had just increased the wages of all employed on the public works half a piastre per diem.

As most of the accounts of Egypt which have fallen into my hands, are filled with the most dismal lamentations of the misery of this unhappy class, I was not a little surprised at finding, for the most part, vigorous, healthy, and cheerful-looking men, who performed their work amid song and jest, were most indulgently treated by their overseers, and seemed only in joke when they solicited us to give them a bakshish, an odious habit which prevails in other countries as well as here. They were ragged enough, to be sure, and barely clad; but where do we find it otherwise in the East, nay, even in Greece? The climate requires so little, and order and cleanliness are certainly not indigenous in these parts. I have since paid much attention to this subject, and am fully persuaded that the Fellahs of Egypt are infinitely better off than many of their class in

Europe. Take for instance the Irish peasants, who are the subjects of the most enlightened Government in the civilised world, or take the poor weavers in Vogtland, of whom I read only this very day, in the newspapers in the year 1843, that the utmost which they can earn is twopence a-day; and that when potatoes, their only staple article of food, fails, they are ready to perish with famine; hence I maintain, that these Fellahs, though unquestionably exposed to much harsh and arbitrary treatment, are nevertheless in a situation which might excite the envy of many of our countrypeople.

The houses of the Fellahs are for the most part small huts, built of bricks baked in the sun, and some are only of dried clay, with no other opening than the door; but these dwellings have the advantage of being warm in the winter, always affording protection against slight showers and storms, (which, however, are very rare here,) and of giving shade in the summer-time, independently of which they are quite roomy enough for the few wants of these people; whereas in Greece, even the better class of peasants seldom have a shelter which is impervious to snow and rain; and if we recollect the hovels and pigsties, filled with suffocating smoke, in which the wretched, starving Irish are lodged, and which, in that comparatively cold climate, scarcely afford any protection whatever, I think our pity must be turned to an opposite quarter.

The Fellahs are, indeed, poor; but in the meanest Egyptian villages which I visited, I almost always found bread, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and vegetables in abundance, nay, even poultry, and in the larger

villages butcher's-meat was readily offered for sale at very moderate prices: that is to say, however, when no Government officer was present, for their rapacity is unquestionably one of the dire calamities of Egypt. In Greece, on the other hand, onions and very indigestible bread of Indian corn, is all that the poor people can procure, and they are therefore compelled to subsist on one and the same diet, just as the low Irish live on potatoes and whisky from year's end to year's end. Lastly, I never heard of a Fellah being starved to death, which, to the disgrace of humanity be it spoken, has notoriously and frequently happened among the Irish peasants, and may perhaps even be a possible occurrence there to this day.

Again, the Fellahs, it is stated, are most miserably clad; but here, too, the comparison is in their favour; for, in the first place, the climate is so mild that they require scarcely any clothing; and, secondly, I have never yet seen the women, like those of the lower classes in Ireland, without even sufficient rags to cover themselves with common decency. On the contrary, though I often saw the female Fellahs in miserably tattered garments, yet, like all the women of the East, they were invariably covered up to the mouth; besides which they generally had five or six pieces of gold coin, fastened in a row to their dress, from the throat to the waist. Now, I affirm, that this can scarcely be entirely reconciled with that extreme poverty of which our philanthropic travellers draw so frightful a picture: so easy is it to see the mote in our brother's eye, while we perceive not the beam in our own eye! I verily believe, that in the heart of

Paris and of London, scenes of more fearful misery may be met with than throughout all Egypt. Add to this, I never heard of a single suicide, which, alas! are so frequent among us; and I would further observe, that the excessive repugnance of the Fellahs to enlist as soldiers, to avoid which they resort to the most cruel self-mutilations, is an unequivocal proof that they are not so lamentably wretched in their present situation as they are represented.

A traveller, however, landing direct from Europe, and for the first time in his life seeing the common people covered with dirt and rags, (which, by-the-bye, is quite common in the East, though in Europe it is the indication of the greatest misery,) is filled with disgust and commiseration; his imagination becomes excited, and he looks henceforward at everything through coloured glasses, even if he is quite unprejudiced and does not wilfully regard things in a wrong light. Many persons however are in the latter predicament,—the greater part of the European merchants for instance, especially in Alexandria; they dislike the Viceroy and his government, because they hate him as a rival in trade; for as he is the all-powerful merchant and monopolist in his country, he prevents them from overreaching the unwary and ignorant Egyptians at pleasure in the way of free trade, and probably undertakes this office himself in some small degree; besides this, with superior cunning and power, he often compels speculators to purchase his own goods from him, at prices which, in the sequel, yield them no profit.

The Viceroy encounters another class of enemies in

the numerous adventurers, who hope to find in Egypt an El Dorado for blockheads and idlers, and who, being good for nothing, are compelled to return home without attaining their object. Another set of opponents, are men, who, at first proved serviceable, but who, for impertinent pretensions, or barefaced and shameless robbery, were subsequently turned off; then, too, there are obscure authors, who, astonished at being quite overlooked and unemployed by the Pacha, though they had sufficiently announced their intention of writing about Egypt, leave the country without a penny in their pockets, and, consequently, full of gall and bitterness; and, having returned to Europe with empty purses, they vent their spleen on the Oriental barbarian. Lastly, Mehemet meets with a host of enemies, in honest, but imbecile philanthropists, mostly Englishmen, who, as soon as they see a man without breeches on his body, and without roast-beef in his stomach, cry "Murder!" and curse the cruelty of the Pacha, as the cause of such unspeakable horrors. They never stop to inquire how much blame for existing evils is to be attributed to imperative circumstances, to deeply-rooted abuses, and to invincible national prejudice, and how much or how little to the arbitrary will of the Pacha. Still less have they the slightest conception, that in this very respect, things are often infinitely worse in their own country, where the same excuses do not obtain.

All these various classes of men write, or hire others to write, against Mehemet Ali, who, indeed, might easily pay for answers, but he despises such adversaries, and is fully convinced that, sooner or later, he

will be more justly appreciated. There are persons in still higher situations, who manifest the same tendency, although their motives are different, and whom I shall at present pass over; but I would, nevertheless, in all kindness, caution every stranger, when he comes to Egypt, not to listen to any tittle-tattle, whether from his consul or from his tailor, but to see with his own eyes, to inquire for himself, and then to judge for himself.

A late traveller, in a very fluent style, and not without talent, has written, as if it were gospel, whatever his good friends, or his dragoman imposed upon, or pretended to translate to him, respecting Mehemet Ali and the condition of Egypt. Such a work may receive approbation and credit in Europe; for what do the majority there know of the East? In fact, we are, at this moment, as ignorant of the relation and state of things in that part of the world, as the French were in the time of Louis XIV. of everything out of France. Whoever travels in Egypt with books of this kind in his hand, and has the slightest talent for observation, will often find the doubt arise, whether they are not altogether mystifications and fabrications; and whether the authors, with Champollion, Burckhardt, Belzoni, Caillaud, &c., and a few historical works on their writing-table, may have not described Egypt, without having ever quitted their own fire-sides.

Nothing can be more shallow than the opinions which we read every day, or are compelled to listen to, respecting Mehemet Ali; and nothing more foolish than the demands which are constantly made

upon him. In some measure he is required to be at the same time Romulus, Numa Pompilius, and Trajan. No regard is had either to his position or to his wants; his critics wilfully shut their eyes to the extraordinary things that he has already effected, and, with silly self-complacency, ridicule and depreciate his *pseudo*-civilisation, because it differs so widely from their own. Lastly, people are so stupid, —I really cannot use a milder term,—as not to see that Rome was not built in a day, and that the real wisdom of Mehemet Ali, as a sovereign, consists in this, he undertakes only that which the times and the state of his nation are ripe for; he proceeds with equal caution and energy, and is not diverted from his firm and well-digested course of procedure, either by theorists or pedants, by censure or by praise.

While at Cairo I had the real satisfaction of meeting with a man who agreed with me in these views, whose decision outweighs a whole cargo of every-day travellers; I mean Professor Schubert, of Munich, who recognised, with high veneration, the greatness of the sovereign who gave new life to Egypt, and who would also have breathed a soul into it, had not European superiority violently overthrown him in the midst of his career.

To return, however, to the Fellahs. In my opinion it would be a matter of impossibility for the greatest of all statesmen, with the best intention in the world, to make them rich, or to put them on a footing with the peasants of Holstein or Altenburg; for, as soon as these children of nature have gained a

sufficiency for their bare subsistence, they lie down in the sun, and like the Lazzaroni, while away their time in idleness, unless they are compelled to work. Even now, when there is plenty of work to be had, if they have a mind to do it, I have seen innumerable examples of their boundless indolence and carelessness. They have ever been so, and as a matter of consequence, always miserably poor. There is, however, this difference, that formerly they used to steal and rob, whereas they cannot now venture to do so; and if by any means it is possible gradually to effect a change in their inveterate habits, Mehemet Ali has adopted the right course, by making himself—not as has been falsely affirmed, the only proprietor, but rather almost the only director, of the cultivation of the soil in his own dominions; he has thus compelled the Fellahs to cultivate this fruitful land not only for *himself*, but also for their own subsistence, in like manner as Joseph commanded to be done in the time of Pharaoh.

The joint responsibility which the Viceroy introduced, was certainly a harsh measure, but the object was a benevolent one, because he believed that the most indolent would be more inevitably compelled to work, by making his doing so, the interest of all. Experience, however, has shown that Mehemet made choice of wrong means,—the system has been abandoned; and during my residence in Cairo, the Viceroy not only renounced all arrears, but repaid, from his own treasury, 10,000,000 of piastres,* of which payment had been extorted from some to make up for

* A Turkish piastre is equal to about twopence English.

the deficit of others. I have already mentioned that he has besides added half a piastre daily, to all those who voluntarily labour for him at the public works, and whose numbers are very considerable. He has also ordered, that in paying the Fellahs annually for the produce which they must deliver, no deduction shall be made as hitherto for their former debts; but that they shall always be paid in full, and with ready money; nay, he even, of his own accord, increased the price of his productions. These measures, at that time, caused such an accumulation of money among the poorer classes in several villages, that dealers from Cairo visited them on speculation, and speedily disposed of their goods among them. This may sound like a fable to those who have formed their ideas of the Oriental Despot upon articles of Egyptian correspondence, the fabrication of which, for the most part, originates from impure sources; but it is literally true, and has been corroborated to me by the authority of the most competent persons, both natives and foreigners, who are settled here.

One of the greatest difficulties which the Viceroy has to contend with, is the immorality of his officers, the ill effects of whose rapacity and corruption are attributed, by short-sighted travellers, to the sovereign himself. Mehemet has, therefore, attempted to substitute Arab local country magistrates, in the place of the Turkish; but the result has so ill answered his expectation, that he will probably be compelled to re-appoint the Turkish magistrates, who, as one of my informants expressed himself:—"Always stole more decently than the Arabs.

Mehemet Ali is well aware of this fundamental evil in his administration, but its very universality, as well as many other political motives arising from his precarious situation with respect to the Porte and to Europe, render it extremely difficult of cure. A radical reform cannot be looked for till the next generation are raised in the scale of society, by means of a better education in their youth. I shall reserve the account of the extraordinary results which the Viceroy has already obtained in this respect, and which are comparatively greater than those of any sovereign of his time. I shall subsequently have an opportunity of adducing incontestible special facts which will indisputably prove that Mehemet Ali strove to be a true reformer of the East, and that he was guided by more exalted ideas than those of mere ambitious egotism; at least up to that time when others interfered and obstructed his work, and thus scarcely left more than the satisfaction of personal advantages, to a man of his oriental character and views of life. This was, and is, my firm opinion, though I am not blind to the faults and errors of this extraordinary man.

Certain European reviewers will hence undoubtedly not fail again to summon me before their tribunal. Hyper-liberal scribblers, or sanctimonious critics, who formerly crossed and blessed themselves, because I smiled at the English aristocracy, though many of its members had invited me to their tables or to balls and entertainments, will now assuredly not miss the opportunity of coming forward in an opposite spirit; and because they invariably presuppose what

is bad and despicable, and judge of others by themselves; they will doubtless pertinaciously maintain, that I laud and defend Mehemet Ali, only because he loaded me with marks of esteem and honour!

By this time I am become quite callous as to what motives are imputed to me in this respect. My vocation is to speak the truth as I find it, indifferent as to how it is received, or whether it flatters one party, or vexes another. Armed with this principle, I have more than once had the satisfaction of seeing opinions, which at first were violently attacked, subsequently confirmed by the result. I will simply call the attention of the reader to one fact, viz., that during my stay in Greece, I was treated by the Government with as much kindness and respect as I experienced in Egypt; and that consequently I am personally bound to feel an equal degree of gratitude to both; yet I could not on this account refrain from speaking the truth, though the result has certainly not been to the advantage of the Government and condition of Greece.* This circumstance will, I hope, at least prove my unbiassed frankness, and I do not desire any higher commendation.

* Time must show whether any improvement will be effected by the late revolution. This revolution itself, proves that I was right in regard to the preceding state of things.

CHAPTER V.

NAPOLEON AT ROCHEFORT.

I SPENT several days in a close inspection of the Arsenal and the fleet; but before entering upon this important subject, I will insert an episode relative to my worthy and estimable companion and guide in these visits, the Captain-General Besson. It was my good fortune speedily to procure the friendship of this excellent man in so high a degree, that he even intrusted me with an important Memoir, with leave to publish it—a permission which he had hitherto invariably refused, and to the earnest solicitations of the most distinguished men. This Memoir contains more positive information than we have ever received on that obscure portion of the history of Napoleon, which relates to his stay at Rochefort, and which is not to be met with in the writings of Las Cases, Norvins, Capefigues, and others.* It will be clearly perceived from the documents, that if Napoleon had to end his days in moral torture at St. Helena, it was by no means in consequence of the insuperable difficulty of his escaping from France; but that it arose, on the one hand, from the machinations of the petty camarilla, by whom he was surrounded at

* I wrote this in 1837, and I am unacquainted with anything that may have since been published on this subject.

Rochefort; and who, with few exceptions, far from being disposed to sacrifice themselves for the Emperor, thought only of their own interest and of their own danger; and, on the other hand, from the magnanimity of Napoleon himself, who disdained to expose those whom he looked upon as his faithful friends, to the possible fate of an ignominious death, in order to save his own person. Lastly, the romantic idea which he had strangely conceived of English generosity, may certainly have contributed its share. The glory of the Emperor has, undoubtedly, lost nothing by it. The close of his great career was thus rendered infinitely more tragic, and has more infallibly secured to him the deepest sympathy of posterity, to the latest moment of his life, than if he had sunk into obscurity, in the prosaic life of a private man, either in England or in America. The force of circumstances rendered it impossible for Napoleon ever again to take an active part in the history of the world; fortune, therefore, bestowed upon him all she still could give—a catastrophe peculiar to himself! Notwithstanding his hard fate, his glory remained unimpaired—enough for him, who desired only to live for posterity!

In the following Memoir, I have attempted nothing beyond a faithful translation, since the simple, honest and unaffected words of Besson, would only have lost by any adventitious ornaments or remarks. He has, however, merely touched upon several points which, in the course of conversation, he finished in fuller colours; I am not authorized to repeat what was

thus communicated: nevertheless nothing material will, on this account, escape the penetration of the attentive reader.

"The Emperor," says Besson, "arrived at Rochefort early in the morning of the 3rd July. I was at that time a Lieutenant, attached to the general staff of the Marine. As I easily perceived that the commander of the two frigates, which the provisional government had placed at the disposal of the Emperor, manifested very little inclination to compromise himself, in order to perform a sacred duty—that is, to risk every thing, even his life, to save his Majesty from his enemies, I quickly conceived the plan of taking his place, and of making an offer to the Emperor to convey him to the United States, on board one of the vessels belonging to my father-in-law, which had been consigned to me at the beginning of the year 1815.* I was therefore obliged to communicate the whole plan to my wife, and her reply fully answered my expectations. 'The Emperor,' she immediately said, 'is placed in such a situation, that it would be the highest honour for any one to deliver him from it. Offer him the best sailer among my father's three ships, and take the command of it yourself, if his Majesty wishes it. As for me, do not make yourself uneasy on my account, though I know very well, that every means will be taken to annoy me; I am ready to suffer anything, rather than to hinder you from performing so great an action.'

"I accordingly waited, without delay, on Marshal

* Besson had married a wealthy Danish lady.

Bertrand, to whom I had the honour of being previously known, and communicated my plan to him. The very same evening I was presented to the Emperor, who acceded to my project, after having made some unimportant modifications: upon this I immediately concluded a simulated contract respecting the cargo with Count Las Cases. I demanded no reward for the owners, beyond the repayment of the expense of the expedition. M. de Bonnefoix, maritime prefect of the fifth arrondissement, likewise gave his consent; and I received from that honourable officer, whose conduct in the whole affair was as noble and generous as every other action of his life, an official order implicitly to follow the will of the Emperor; to convey him, if he desired it, to the United States, and then to return to France to render an account of my mission.

"My hastily prepared project consisted of the following particulars:—

"The Magdalena yacht, under Danish colours, (which was built at Kiel, in 1812, to act against the English cruisers in the Baltic,) was to take on board a cargo of brandy, consigned to America. It was to be furnished with two charter-parties, one for Kiel, the other for New York. Five empty casks, lined with mattresses, were placed in the hold, between two rows of hogsheads of brandy, to conceal five persons in case the vessel should be searched. In the cabin, below the English fire-place, there was a trap-door which communicated with the above place in the hold, which was furnished with sufficient provisions for five days. Fresh air was conveyed to the casks, by very

carefully concealed pipes, which issued under the beds in the cabin. Thus fitted out, the ship was to proceed to the island of Aix, and there cast anchor among the small vessels which were waiting at that port to put to sea. There the necessary effects for the passengers were to be put on board, twenty-four hours previous to their own embarkation, and when everything was arranged, the yacht was to sail, and proceed from the Perthuis Breton, between the continent and the island, and then to go to the island of Noirmoutier, and thence to Ushant, whence she was to sail for the high seas.

"By taking this direction it was almost impossible not to succeed, for the English were at that time off the Gironde and the entrance of the Perthuis d'Antioche, that is to say, precisely on the opposite side. This was, in fact, proved in the sequel; for the Magdalena really took that course with perfect safety, only one day before the unhappy embarkation of the Emperor on board the Bellerophon, and did not meet *with a single enemy's cruiser on her whole voyage.*

"As soon as the plan, so arranged, had been finally accepted, Marshal Bertrand gave orders to Count Las Cases to hasten everything that was still necessary for its execution. Messrs. Roy, Brè, and Co., of Rochefort, were appointed to load the vessel, and to furnish the necessary papers. I took everything else upon myself; and the better to avoid exciting suspicion, I disguised myself as the captain of a merchantman from the North (*capitaine du Nord*). The success was complete; for General Becher did not discover that I belonged to the French navy, till

Napoleon went on board the Bellerophon, and it was on this occasion that he said to me, 'I am sorry, Captain, that you have so seriously compromised yourself by your zeal; your plan, I must confess, deserved a better fate.' So much activity was manifested in the preparations, that I left Rochefort early on the 6th of July, for Marennes, in order to receive the brandy necessary for the cargo of the Magdalena. On the 10th I proceeded to the island of Aix, where I learnt that the Emperor was on board the Saale, and that he was wholly abandoned by Captain Philibert, the commander of that frigate; who declared to him, that the presence of an English ship off the entrance of the Perthuis d'Antioche, was an insuperable obstacle to his Majesty's departure, as he, Captain Philibert, had the strictest orders not to expose himself and his crew to the danger of an uncertain encounter, in order to secure the personal safety of the Emperor. Captain Cornée, commander of the Medusa frigate, behaved in a very different manner. That brave officer offered to the Emperor to take him on board his vessel, and either to secure his safe retreat, or to die with him; adding, that he might indeed be sunk, but that he pledged his word of honour never to surrender. This generous offer had no better fate than mine, as will be seen in the sequel; and the only motive which deterred the Emperor was, his repugnance to expose those who followed him to such an uncertain fate.

"Napoleon hereupon left the Saale frigate at nine o'clock, P. M.

"I was summoned the same evening to the Emperor,

who received me with great kindness and desired me immediately to embark his effects and those of his suite. I accordingly commenced at ten o'clock, and at midnight all was ready, so that nothing remained to be done except taking the passengers on board. I must here mention a circumstance which had nearly cost me my life. Every point of the island was well guarded, and particularly that part opposite to which the Magdalena lay at anchor. I had selected a spot for our embarkation, which was about fifty paces distant from a marine post; and in order to prevent any mistake, I had requested Count Bertrand to give notice to the commander of the post to pay no attention to the noise which he might hear between ten and twelve o'clock that night. Being convinced that we might now commence our operations without being disturbed, we all proceeded to work; but we had scarcely embarked a small part of the luggage, when a fire of musketry was directed at us, which unfortunately took effect, broke the arm of one of my Danes who was standing next me, and riddled our boat like a sieve. I instantly leaped on shore, at the risk of being shot, and hastened to the post, where I soon set matters to rights. *Nobody there had received any notice;* but the brave soldiers, who heard us speak German, mistook it for English, and fired at us accordingly.

"A little before midnight I repaired to the Emperor, and informed him that *all was ready and the wind favourable.* His Majesty replied that it was impossible to depart that night, because he expected King Joseph. 'Go down,' he added, 'and take some

supper with Bertrand, he will communicate to you a new project; give him your opinion of it, and then come back to me.'

"The Emperor manifested great composure, yet he seemed to be thoughtful, and I mention this circumstance only to contradict the publications of the day, which universally affirm that Napoleon was asleep almost the whole time that he was at Rochefort, and was so cast down by his situation, that he was unable to determine on the adoption of any plan. On the contrary, I did not find him in the least cast down, or agitated; he frequently, as usual, had recourse to his snuff-box, and at the same time listened very attentively to all that was said to him; but he appeared to me to look with too much indifference on the tragical complexity of his situation. 'How unfortunate, sire,' said I, 'that you cannot depart to-day. The Rade des Basques is free from enemies; the Perthuis des Bretons is open: who knows if they will be so to-morrow?' These words were unhappily prophetic. *Even on the 12th, the English knew nothing of the Emperor's arrival at Rochefort,* which was first made known to them by the visit of the Duke de Savary and Count Las Cases on board the Bellerophon; this will indisputably prove that they had remained, up to that moment, at the entrance of the Gironde and of the Perthuis d'Antioche, in order to prevent every attempt to escape, which might be made by the frigates at anchor in the road off the isle of Aix. On the same evening, however, that the above-mentioned noblemen communicated the Emperor's arrival, the *Bellerophon moved to anchor*

in the Rade des Basques, which was unquestionably the proper position for simultaneously guarding both entrances.

"I left the Emperor and went down into the cabin to Count Bertrand, who told me that some young officers, at whose head was one Gentil, a lieutenant in the navy, had come to propose to the Emperor to embark him on board a sloop (*chaloupe pontée*) from Rochelle, and to convey him in it to the entrance of the Rivière de Bordeaux, passing the Straits of Monmousson, where an American vessel was at anchor, in which the Emperor could obtain a passage to America, or of which he might take possession, in the event of a refusal. There were in fact several American vessels off Royant, which General L'Allemand visited, and the captains of which had offered their services to his Majesty.

"As I was well acquainted with the brave young men who had made this offer, and whose names deserve to be handed down to posterity,* I told the marshal that I was convinced Heaven itself pointed out to his Majesty a safe means of escape, but that it must be immediately taken advantage of, since every circumstance appeared to combine to ensure success.

"'What do you mean by this?' inquired the marshal in astonishment.

"'I will explain myself,' replied I. 'The two

* They were Messieurs Dovet, Enseigne de Vaisseau, Knight of the Legion of Honour—a young man of very enterprising spirit, devoted to the Emperor; Condé, an Aspirant of the first class, worthy in every sense to tread in the footsteps of his brave father, the Commandant Condé; and Gentil, one of the most resolute officers, who took part in the whole Spanish war, among the Marins de la Garde.

sloops off Rochelle are excellent sailers, better, undoubtedly, than the English cruisers. They must be sent, one through the straits of Monmousson, the other through the Perthuis d'Antioche, and persons and effects belonging to the Emperor must be embarked on board both the vessels; but so that the crews themselves may not be aware who is on board the other sloop. Nothing more, I said, would then be necessary, except giving private orders to the commanders of the two light vessels, separately, to put themselves in the way of the English cruisers, to suffer themselves to be chased by them, and to draw them away as far as possible; and that a report should be secretly spread at Rochefort that Napoleon had embarked on board one of these sloops, so that the crew of each sloop might themselves believe that the Emperor was on board the other. As soon as this plan was matured and had been properly spread abroad, the sloops might sail the next evening, while the Emperor would accompany me on the following morning, when he would have two more chances of happily effecting his escape. 'It is the more necessary,' I expressly added, 'to take advantage of all these favourable circumstances with the least possible delay, as it is highly probable that the enemy, who is now under sail off the entrance of the Perthuis d'Antioche, is still ignorant of the Emperor's presence, for if he were aware of it, he would unquestionably not fail to take up a position in the Rade des Basques, whence he would be able to watch both the Perthuis.'

"The marshal seemed to be of the same opinion as

myself; and as he was anxious to acquaint the Emperor with the proposition without delay, he requested me to accompany him.

"We found Napoleon resting his elbow on a beautiful vermilion seat, which had been presented to him by his consort Maria Louisa, and which, as his majesty wished to retain it till the last moment, was almost the only article of furniture which was not yet embarked. The Emperor raised his head, and said with an expression of good humour, '*Eh bien, Bertrand, que vous a dit le Capitaine Besson?*' After Bertrand had made him acquainted with all that I had said, the Emperor manifested his entire approbation of my plan, and immediately ordered the remaining effects belonging to his suite, and a number of provisions, to be put on board these sloops, and desired that a report should be circulated that it was his intention to embark on board of one of these, and then to despatch both of them shortly before his own departure. He added, '*Je suis à présent décidé à partir avec vous, capitaine, dans la nuit du* 13 *au* 14.'

"I foresaw, with the deepest regret, that this fresh delay would render all our efforts abortive, and I even ventured to express my apprehensions, but without effect.

"On the 11th and 12th, the sloops were further fitted out, and early on the 13th, they set sail, with full instructions, as had been agreed upon. This they effected without impediment, although the Bellerophon, in consequence of the visit of the Duke de Savary and Count Las Cases, had already taken

up her new position in the Rade des Basques, on the evening of the 12th.

"At break of day, on the 13th, M. Marchand came on board, and entrusted to me a leathern belt, filled with gold coin, to meet the Emperor's expenses, and, at the same time, he gave me an order from his Majesty to repair to him forthwith. It appeared to me, that the little gold which the Emperor intended to take with him, had been divided, and that M. Marchand had consigned a small portion to the care of every individual who was to embark with his Majesty.

"At seven o'clock I repaired to the Emperor, whom I found ready dressed, and pacing up and down in his room: '*Ah vous voilà!*' he exclaimed, as I entered, '*Les chaloupes sont parties ce soir donc . . . . . le sort en est jeté.*' He then inquired whether I was certain that I was acquainted with the whole coast, while he, at the same time, pointed with his finger to the island of Aix, &c., in the chart of Poitou, which lay upon the table. As I was about to reply, M. Marchand entered, and whispered to the Emperor, upon which I was suddenly dismissed. On retiring, I met a person whom I had never seen here before, and who, I afterwards learnt, was King Joseph.

"The whole day was passed in making every arrangement for our voyage as perfect as possible; and when evening set in, I was informed, that the gentleman whom the Emperor had lately sent to the Bellerophon had just returned. I have not the slightest doubt, that it was only on this day, that certain persons,

belonging to the suite of Napoleon, under the apprehension that they might be taken prisoners with him, on board my yacht, had definitively influenced him to enter into serious negotiations with Captain Maitland, whose answer had just arrived, but of which, at that time, I had not the slightest suspicion.

"On the contrary, when his Majesty again summoned me, as soon as it was dark, I experienced the greatest delight, in the anticipation that my wishes were approaching their goal.

"On entering, I found General Savary, Count Las Cases, Count Montholon, and another person who was a stranger to me, in the saloon. 'Captain,' said the Emperor, addressing me, 'you must immediately return to your yacht, and cause my effects to be disembarked. I sincerely thank you for all your good intentions towards me. Had the object been the deliverance of an oppressed people, as was my intention on quitting the island of Elba, I should not have lost a moment in confiding myself to your care; but as the sole question now hinges upon my personal welfare, I will not expose those who have remained faithful to me and to my interests, to any dangers, which, to say the least, are useless. I have resolved to go to England—and to-morrow I shall embark on board the Bellerophon.'

"Had I been struck to the ground by a flash of lightning from a serene sky, I could not have experienced a more fearful sensation than that which was produced by these last words. I felt the blood forsake my cheeks, the tears gushed from my eyes, and for some moments I had no power of utterance. It

was as clear to me as the light of heaven that the Emperor was fearfully mistaken in his chivalrous ideas of the magnanimity of the British government, and a thousand anxious forebodings filled my breast; for I had myself been at different periods, during the space of five long years, the victim of this government, whose good faith has ever been on a par with the Punic.* Hence, it is not to be wondered at that I clearly foresaw the issue. 'To England, sire,' I at length exclaimed, in a half suffocated voice—'to England! Then you are undone! The Tower of London will be your residence, and you may think yourself happy if nothing worse befals you. What, your Majesty will deliver yourself up, bound hand and foot, to that perfidious cabinet, which will rejoice at being able to destroy him who has so deeply wounded it to the very heart's core, and threatened its entire existence with destruction! You are the only person whom it has to fear, and will you voluntarily give yourself up to it without any necessity? Sire * * *' God knows what I might still have added in my despair, had not General Savary, who was in a corner of the saloon, interrupted me with his sonorous voice, and harshly imposed silence. 'Captain,' he exclaimed, 'you take too much upon yourself! Do not entirely forget in whose presence you are!'

"'*Oh, laissez-le parler*,' said the Emperor, with a sorrowful look, which went to my very heart; but I

* Captain Besson was twice a prisoner on the frightful English Pontons. His escape was very romantic, and his consequent aversion to the English may be pardonable.

soon perceived, when I had in some measure recovered myself, how useless any further attempt would be.

"'Pardon, Sire,' I continued, 'if I have said too much; but I am as completely stunned by your decision, as if I had been struck by a thunderbolt, and I am only able to entreat your Majesty's indulgence. As for your Grace,' I added, turning to the Duke, 'I request you, at least, to order the post not to fire at me again to-night, for it would be too hard a fate to be struck down by a French bullet while compelled to land effects, to disembark which in America, I would have sacrificed my life ten times over.'

"'Go, Captain,' said the Emperor, mildly, 'and make yourself easy. When you have finished your business, come again to me.'

"I did as I was commanded, though in the most desponding spirit, and at nine o'clock in the evening of the 14th of July all was completed, on which I immediately returned to inform the Emperor. I found him alone with M. Marchand, who might well be called Fidelity personified, and whose obligingness to me never varied. Without his assistance I should, perhaps, never have obtained access to the Emperor, for the spirit of intrigue had already taken as firm footing in the island of Aix, as it had formerly done in the Tuileries. I will mention only one instance. The persons who were appointed to embark with the Emperor on board the Magdalena, were Marshal Bertrand, Count Las Cases, and General Montholon. The two latter were very little compromised with the government of the King, and had therefore nothing

to fear; whereas General L'Allemand was already condemned to death. Yet that meritorious General could never succeed in laying his claim before the Emperor. Being constantly impeded in every possible way, he at length requested me to allow him to mix with my crew, in the disguise of a sailor, and thus to save his life.

"As soon as the Emperor saw me enter, he came up to me, and said—'Captain, I again thank you: as soon as you have settled everything here, come and join me in England. I shall undoubtedly, when I am there,' he added, with a smile, 'still have need of a man of your character.'

"'Ah! sire,' I replied, much affected, 'why dare I not cherish the slightest hope, that a day will ever come, when I may be summoned to obey so flattering a command.'

"Unable any longer to suppress my feelings, I was about hastily to retire, when the Emperor made me a sign to stop, and sent Marchand out to fetch Marshal Bertrand; he then selected from among some arms for his private use, which stood in a corner of the room, a valuable double-barrelled gun, which he had long used in the chase, and, presenting it to me, said, with much emotion, '*Je n'ai plus rien dans ce moment à vous offrir, mon ami, que cette arme. Veuillez l'accepter comme un souvenir de moi.*'

"This present, which is so invaluably dear to me, and the inexpressibly benign manner in which it was made, induced me, as I was alone with the Emperor, to make, almost involuntarily, a last attempt. I

threw myself at his feet, and conjured him with tears, by everything which the most melancholy conviction suggested to me, not to give himself up to the English; for that, as yet, nothing was lost; and I promised to have all his things again on board within two hours, when he might immediately follow, and we might set sail without delay. Nothing was wanting but his decision—his command. Alas! all was in vain. 'Well, sire,' I exclaimed, rising; but the marshal, who had entered meantime, interrupted me: 'Captain, cease your useless endeavours,' he exclaimed, impatiently; 'your zeal is laudable, your conduct is noble, but his Majesty *cannot now draw back*.'

"It was, perhaps, so; and I suppressed the words which were still upon my lips. I said: "Nothing now remains for me, but to take leave of your Majesty; and to depart in the same yacht, sire, which was intended for your Majesty. I shall follow the precise route which you have approved; and time, I fear, will too soon show your Majesty which of the two projects was the safest.'

"Struck to the heart, I retired and went on board my ship. It was ten o'clock at night; I immediately had the anchor weighed, and sailed with a brisk east wind. I was not in any way molested, and at daybreak reached the entrance of the Perthuis Breton, where I mixed with the coasting vessels.

"It is necessary to observe, that the Emperor did not embark in the Epervia till five o'clock in the morning of the 15th, and arrived on board the Bellerophon at nine o'clock A.M.

"I had therefore long before continued my voyage unobserved in company with the coasting vessels, and it was not till I found myself off the Sables d'Olonnes, that I took leave of my captain, to sail to Ushant and Kiel, through the English Channel, where he arrived safely twenty days afterwards, without having been visited by a single English cruiser, or, as I observed before, being in anywise molested. I then returned with one of the coasting vessels to Rochefort, where I waited on the Marine Prefect to receive his orders. He told me, that, at the desire of the Emperor, he had kept back till the last moment two chests of plate, which he was to deliver to Madame Besson, in case the Emperor had sailed with me. As his Majesty however had taken an opposite step, he had deemed it his duty to send these chests, with some others which his Majesty had entrusted to him, on board the Bellerophon. In fact, the sale of these very chests of plate served to supply the Emperor's most urgent wants at St. Helena; but I myself was very far from having any notion that his Majesty would have carried his attention so far, as to think of the fate of my wife, in case my project had been carried into execution.

"My next interview with Madame Besson was a melancholy one indeed. It was long before either of us could find words to give vent to our profound affliction. The unhappy resolution taken by the Emperor destroyed him for ever; but my fate also was inevitably marked out. I felt assured that I must become the victim of my voluntary action, and so it proved ere long. Dismissed, as unworthy of

serving the new government, I was compelled to fly from my country, and to leave my wife alone at Rochefort; in consequence of the agitations of the last few days, she became extremely ill, and was long exposed to all kinds of annoyances; indeed the police completely persecuted her, and drove her to Bourdeaux, where she at length found an opportunity of embarking for Kiel, where we met again for the first time in December, 1816. Since that mournful period I have been a wanderer in foreign lands; nor have I ventured to approach the coast of France, except in the year 1826, when his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt sent me to Marseilles, to arm the ships of war which General Livron had caused to be built there for his Highness. My connection with Egypt takes its date from that time. Mehemet Ali has most generously rewarded my services, and I shall esteem myself happy if my activity, my good-will, and sincere regard for the extraordinary man to whom Providence has conducted me, may contribute to render me more and more worthy of his benefits."

The reader will scarcely be able to lay down this simple statement, without feeling the most lively interest for the principal characters, the great Emperor, and the brave Besson. It cannot, however, be concealed, that the hero, who had for years been hurried from place to place, harassed and exhausted, no longer possessed the energetic resolution which had raised him so high when only General Buonaparte; but we must remember, that he had not then been intoxicated by the atmosphere of the court,

which gradually weakens the strongest head, and corrodes the purest heart.

Providence, however, in this instance, as in every other, ordered all for the best, and Besson may fully console himself. The Emperor, it is true, had his deliverer succeeded in conveying him to America, might have been spared the personal sufferings of many years, but his glory, I repeat it, would only have suffered a mortal blow. It was better, far better, for Napoleon to die in St. Helena, as the prisoner of Europe, than to end his days as an obscure individual in private life. His admirers have therefore reason rather to rejoice that the result turned out as it did, and the English alone have cause to lament that the plan of the intrepid Besson failed, for its success would have spared them one of the most disgraceful pages of their history.*

* Eight months after this was written, on my return from a difficult and dangerous journey in the deserts of Arabia, I found that Besson, whom I had left in the full vigour of life, was already in his grave. His manuscript alone remains with me, as a guarantee for the authenticity of the fragment here communicated of his life, which, in many other respects, was extremely remarkable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW ARSENAL.

When a stranger for the first time visits the arsenal, and views this colossal establishment, with its solid and handsome buildings in its whole immense extent,—an establishment which is not inferior to most of the kind in Europe, nay, which in many points surpasses them; where he finds the largest ships being built, and long rows of magazines stored with every requisite to equip twice their number on the shortest notice; and if he is told that only eight years ago the waves of the sea were rolling over this very spot, and that the whole of the magnificent fleet which now fills the harbour, issued from this same arsenal,—he must almost fancy that he is listening to the relations of an enthusiast.

If he then pauses to reflect upon the remarkable circumstance, that these wonders of activity and judgment were created in a country enveloped in complete barbarism,—a country which at that time possessed scarcely any of the necessary means, the hand of man excepted, and that the whole was effected by the immovable will of a single individual, in opposition to the combined opinion of all his countrymen, he will be overwhelmed with astonishment, and will be constrained to confess, that, since the time of Peter the Great, no European sovereign

has performed such marvels in the same space of time.

But Mehemet Ali's bold spirit is not even yet at rest, and he is now engaged on a work almost equally gigantic, namely, to gain from the sea, and from a slimy soil, one hundred feet deep, extending under it, a basin sufficiently capacious for the whole fleet, and which may be drained at pleasure. The prodigious chests, which are made in the docks, and when filled with stones will be sunk in the sea, as many of them already are, are nearly as large as ships of the line. Almost everybody questions the possibility of success; Mehemet Ali alone does not doubt; for, like Napoleon, he has no such word as *impossible* in his vocabulary. One of the foreign consuls, with a view of dissuading him, said, "Your Highness is throwing your money into the sea."—"Allah kherim!" replied the Viceroy, "for many years I have been doing nothing else." In fact, the experience of Mehemet Ali has been very dearly bought in every instance before he attained his objects; but this never made him hesitate in his proceeding; he always began afresh, till success eventually crowned his perseverance; and this it is, which has made him the great man that he has become.

One of his friends having reproved him for suffering himself to be constantly deceived and betrayed by adventurous and ignorant projectors, he gave him the following remarkable answer upon this head. "I know," said he, "that of fifty men who come from Europe to offer me their services, forty-nine are like false jewels, but, without trying them, I cannot pick

out the one genuine brilliant which may perhaps be among them. I, therefore, purchase them all, and when I have discovered the genuine one, it often repays me a hundredfold for what I have lost by the others." Such a genuine brilliant the Viceroy now possesses in Besson, as he formerly did in Cerisy.

Mehemet Ali had spent a whole year and more than a million of money upon his arsenal when Cerisy, provided with very slender recommendations, arrived in Alexandria. This distinguished Frenchman was presented to the Viceroy, who immediately after the first interview, commissioned him to inspect the new erection, and to state his opinion respecting it. The upright, though somewhat blunt, Cerisy, returned the short but energetic report, that everything which had been done was good for nothing, and that even the locality which had been selected was utterly unsuitable.

It may easily be conceived what a host of interested persons were offended by such a decision, and what intrigues it must have called forth. Mehemet Ali, without suffering himself to be disconcerted, ordered Cerisy to explain the matter more at length, in a detailed memoir, and at the same time to draw up a new plan for the building, entirely according to his own individual opinion. When he had carefully examined it, and the powerful arguments of the Frenchman had convinced the Viceroy, he immediately stopped the progress of the old building, forgot the sums uselessly spent, and, without a moment's delay, commenced the execution of the new plan. Here it may be said everything was to be

created, but the Viceroy was nothing daunted. The basin was dug, the land required was conveyed in waggons, and in four years several of the largest ships of the line were launched from the completed arsenal, which, like them, had been called forth from nothing.

These are characteristics of a Reformer, of a man who lives for one idea, and for that alone, and who is not deterred by any opposing difficulties, and unhappily form a striking contrast with the irresolution, the petty calculations of means and resources, which we so frequently witness in decrepid Europe, without emerging from a provisional state. However, we must not pass over the dark side of this undertaking; and it cannot be denied, that the great impatience of Mehemet Ali, in the prosecution of his plans, has caused him much injury, and will cause him still greater. Cerisy, in spite of his repeated remonstrances, was compelled to build his ships of green wood; in consequence of which, the whole fleet bears in itself the germs of premature decay. The Viceroy was not blind to this circumstance; but he induced Cerisy to obedience, by saying:—"I want these ships, and I want them soon; and when they have performed their service, as I hope they will, they may rot as soon as they please." Fortune has not fulfilled this hope, but it cannot be affirmed that it was altogether Mehemet Ali's own fault.

It is not my intention to describe this arsenal in detail, as such establishments are sufficiently known, and everywhere more or less resemble each other. I will merely mention some points which particularly struck me. Among these, is the admirable rope-

walk, which is equal in extent to that of Toulon, and surpasses it in the perfection of its arrangements. The ingenious new machine, invented by a Frenchman, for twisting the ropes, is in use here; and the work appears to me not inferior, in rapidity and perfection, to the best of the kind in England.

In point of order and scrupulous cleanliness, in the magazines, as well as in the workshops, the French arsenals which I have visited are decidedly inferior to those of Egypt. An excellent arrangement, among others, is, that as soon as the work is done at night, all the instruments that have been used during the day are hung up on the walls and pillars in various elegant devices; which have been fixed upon, once for all, as is usual, for the ornaments of an armoury; and this must be done by the workmen themselves, before they leave the place. This not only makes an elegant decoration, but has this advantage, that the instruments can never be mislaid or lost, and that a theft would be instantly perceived. For this and many other judicious regulations, the arsenal is chiefly indebted to the indefatigable care of General Besson, the worthy successor of the ingenious founder, Cerisy, whose name will be immortalized in the annals of Egypt.

With the exception of the finer nautical and mathematical instruments, very little of European manufacture is to be seen in these magazines. Arms, paper, clothing, linen, leather, and cloth (the latter in part of cotton), are all the produce of Egyptian manufactures instituted by the Viceroy.

Three ships of the line were being built in the docks, which are uncovered, in consequence of the dryness of the climate. In the foundation walls, which consist of large hewn stones, several antique granite pillars and Egyptian figures are introduced, and not without taste; in fact, they are worthy of mention as an indication of Mussulman civilisation in an æsthetic point of view.

THE FLEET.

The effective naval force of Egypt, in the year 1837, consisted of:—

Ships of the Line.	*Guns.*	*Pounders.*	*Crew.*
Acre	104	30	1200
Massr	104	„	1200
Mohallet el Koubra	100	„	1150
Skander	100	„	1150
Mansurah	100	„	1150
Iloms	100	„	1150
Beleny	96	„	1000
Aboukir	82	„	950
Frigates.	*Guns.*	*Pounders.*	*Crew.*
Avadalla	64	30	600
Rashid	60	24	580
Beherah	60	„	580
Mufta-dshehad	60	„	580
Dshir-Dshehad	60	„	580
Kaffershake	60	„	580
Damiat	54	„	500
Corvettes.	*Carronades.*	*Pounders.*	*Crew.*
Tantah	24	30	200
Dshenah-Bacharih	24	„	190
Belenghi-Dshehad	22	18	190
Dshehad-Beker	22		190
Carried forward	1296		13,720

Brigs.	*Carronades.*	*Pounders.*	*Crew.*
Brought forward .	1296		13,720
Sharka . . .	18	16	120
Washington .	18	„	100
Semendi-Dshehad	18	„	100
Bedi-Dshehad . .	16	„	100
Sheinderi	16	„	90
Theinsach . . .	16	12	90
Shabbas-Dshehad . .	14	16	90
Cutter	10	„	50
The Nile Steamer .	4	30	150
	2 guns à la Paishans		
Guns,	1428	Crews,	14,610
Armed Transports, their Crews			1080
The Arsenal, Carpenters, Caulkers, and Cabinet-makers, &c.			4500
		Crews.—Total	20,190

N. B. All the men employed in the arsenal are organised as military workmen, and in case of necessity are able to bear arms.

Ships Building.	*Guns and Carronades.*	*Pounders.*
Ships of the Line, No. 9 . .	100	30
„ 10 .	88	„
„ 11 .	100	„
„ 12	All the parts of this vessel are	

indeed ready, but they are not yet in the docks to be put together.

Three frigates of the first class are far advanced, calculated each to carry 64 carronades, 30 pounders.*

The naval school of Ras-el-Ain, connected with the arsenal, contains 1,200 pupils, who are instructed, boarded and lodged, and supplied with uniforms at the expense of the government, besides which each of them receives from 20 to 100 piastres per month. Some of these are trained for the marines, and others for the service of the administration.

* They were all completed two years afterwards.

There are, besides, two purely nautical schools on board the Acre and Mansurah, in which the number of pupils is unlimited. The conditions are the same, but every pupil receives the pay of 100 piastres per month. Among them is the Viceroy's son, Said Bey, who has a similar allowance, just as the King of France once received a salary as canon at Auch.

The seamen are provided as follows:—the government allows every sailor, yearly, 3 complete cotton suits, namely, 1 working dress; 1 better dress for holidays; 1 capote for the winter; 2 tarbushs or caps; 2 shirts; 4 pairs of shoes; and a sufficient supply of soap for washing his clothes.

The sailors are divided into four classes. The first class receives per month 30 piastres; second, 25; third, 20; fourth, 15. The subaltern officers are paid in the same proportion.

The ration consists of the most suitable and wholesome provisions, and is ample for the support of two persons. His Highness also maintains all the male children of the marines, and from the hour of their birth, allows them the same ration as their father, besides five piastres per month in money.

The invalids of the marines are sent to their respective dwelling-places, where they receive a monthly pension of 30 piastres, and are at the same time frequently employed as overseers in different departments, by which means those who are still capable of work, are permitted to combine this remuneration with their pension.

CORPS OF OFFICERS OF THE MARINE.

Mustapha Pacha, who commands the sea forces *en chef*, has long held the rank of admiral *pro tempore*, but is in fact nothing more than vice-admiral or lieutenant-general.

The office of vice-admiral is likewise only *pro tempore*, and is equal to *maréchal-de-camp*, and chief of the general staff of the squadron. This post is filled by Besson Bey. The *contre-amiral* is likewise only a miriliva, or *maréchal-de-camp*, and at the same time president of Council of Marine, which gives him incalculable influence. This office is held by Hassan Bey, a Turk, who has received a European education, and of whom I shall make further mention hereafter.

There are ships' captains of the first and second class; the former have the title of Bey, and take the rank of a colonel in the army, and the second class, that of lieutenant-colonel.

The frigate-captains are likewise divided into first and second class. The first take the rank of *chef de bataillon*, and the second that of majors of the first class, and are likewise employed as second ships' captains, or as commanders of corvettes.

The captains of brigs are majors of the second class, and are appointed indiscriminately as seconds of frigates or corvettes.

The ship-lieutenants* are likewise of the first and second class, have the rank of captains, and act as seconds in corvettes and brigs.

* By the term "ship," a ship-of-the-line must of course be understood.

The frigate-lieutenants likewise consist of two classes, and take the rank of premier lieutenants.

The *aspirants* of the first and second class take the rank of first and second lieutenants.

This concise, but indisputably authentic statement, will suffice to give the reader a just conception of the extent of the naval power of Mehemet Ali, and, taken in connection with what I shall subsequently communicate in the course of this work respecting the army, the territorial extent, the revenue, and resources of the Egyptian-Nubian-Syrian Empire (for such it then was), they confirm my opinion that it will lead to a most detrimental anomaly for all parties to continue to retain a man who is *de facto* a powerful independent monarch, in the official position of a dependent pasha.

When I surveyed this stupendous regal power, I could not help thinking that we have in Europe many monarchs whose kingdoms are scarcely equal in extent to a single province of the pashalic, and whose resources do not amount to the tenth part of those of Mehemet Ali; while there are many other sovereigns who cannot compete in power and splendour even with one of Mehemet Ali's stadtholders,—for example, those of Candia and Soudan; nay, that there are even others who positively are merely great landholders, who cannot boast of as much territory as many an English nobleman, but who nevertheless bear the anomalous title of sovereign.

Hence, it unavoidably ensued, that so unnatural a relation as the present could not be maintained without continued violent measures; and a whole-

some policy would, probably, not have desired to uphold such a state of things; not even the policy of the Porte, which stood in need of a powerful friend, professing the same religion, and consequently bound by the same interests for the success of the main point—the security of the Mahomedan sway—rather than of a powerful vassal, who, so long as he had not attained his independence, would stand opposed to it as a dangerous rival, and who only bore the name of vassal, while he, in reality, once far exceeded his master in concentrated power and importance.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT TO THE FLEET.

On leaving the arsenal we entered a gig, a long, narrow, and very elegant boat, resembling the exclusives of Cowes, and proceeded to the fleet, the whole of which was assembled here, and afforded an imposing scene. We steered direct for the admiral's ship, where I intended to pay my respects to the Prince Said Bey, the second son of the Viceroy.

Although the impression produced by the British fleet in Malta and Zante was still vividly before me, yet as far as a landsman may judge, I did not find, with respect to materials, any essential difference between the vessels of the two nations, which were always placed in my mind in juxtaposition; indeed, in some few particulars, even if not very important, I here noticed several advantages; for example, the exterior cleanliness and order, which pervaded even the most hidden corner and the deepest hold, as well as the more suitable arrangement, as it appeared to me, of the storing and setting up of the arms, in various little magazines, which divided the entire of the ship's hold, instead of their being placed in one large apartment, a method which facilitates a more easy and rapid access to them; and lastly, new and very practical defended embrasures on the upper deck, an arrangement which has been copied from the French,

and which will, without doubt, be adopted in all new vessels.

The manœuvres, on the other hand, were decidedly to the disadvantage of the Egyptians, as some of them manifested a great want of decision, and others took double and even triple the time in performing most of their evolutions. This, however, is less attributable to the unskilfulness of the Arab sailors, who, on the contrary, seem to me to possess every qualification to make the best seamen in the world, than to the great lack of able officers; for Mehemet Ali was probably too precipitate in dismissing the greater number of Europeans, in consequence of various misunderstandings. Without the aid of the few whom he yet retains in his service, and among whom M. Touset, aide-de-camp of M. Besson, deserves especial notice on account of his talents and great zeal, this fine and colossal creation would doubtless be in danger of being annihilated as rapidly as it rose, as if by enchantment. The Viceroy's true friends will do well to counsel him not to be in too great a hurry to put into the hands of his countrymen that office to which they are not yet equal.*

* The question seems naturally to arise, what might have been the result, if, at the commencement of the late war against Mehemet Ali, when the English had not above eight or nine ships of the line, and the French considerably more, stationed in the Mediterranean—what,' I say, might have been the result, had France resolutely engaged the whole of the fleet of the Viceroy, which was at that time augmented by several Turkish vessels, which had gone over to him, placed it under the command of French officers, and employed it in the combat, and thus, making use of initiated men, had attacked the English fleet with an almost four-fold superiority? Often has a complete destruction of the nimbus of the greatest naval powers so

Said Bey, who is strictly educated as a seaman, is a very amiable young man, and possesses many promising qualities. He is under the direction of General Besson, and of his appointed tutor, Mr. König, a man who possesses extensive knowledge and experience, and bears the highest character. Said Bey has already, in some measure, acquired the polish of an European prince, and begins to act and to feel as such. He is, however, extremely shy, and his very estimable qualities are only learnt in confidential intercourse. He speaks French fluently, and with a very slight foreign accent; and has also some knowledge of English. He would certainly be much liked in Europe, and would be well received everywhere.

He has a very great desire to go thither, but at present there is an insurmountable obstacle of a most singular nature. The prince, considering his youth, is most extraordinarily corpulent, and his father is unwilling that he should present himself to the eyes of Europe till he has become thinner. On a later occasion I had an opportunity of conversing privately with the Viceroy on this subject, and I did my utmost to induce him to change his mind, but I was unable to effect anything. Mehemet Ali repeatedly asserted that he would not suffer his son to travel in his present unsightly condition. "I have prescribed a regimen for the prince," added he; "he is now pur-

completely shattered them, that from that hour they died a lingering death. So much is certain, that a like opportunity will probably never again be presented to France. Well is it for the peace of the world that she did not take advantage of it.

suing it, and will become thinner, and then he may travel, but certainly not before." With this prescribed regimen, poor Prince Said Bey is incessantly tormented, without its having as yet done him any material good. He is weighed every week; and in the detailed report of his education, which is regularly transmitted to Cairo, the results of the weighing must on no account be omitted, and an inevitable overflow of spleen invariably ensues if the pounds are not *decrescendo !*

The surest method of ridding the prince of his unhappy corpulency, of which, probably, not a word would be said in Europe, would be to send him to England, and there have him trained as a boxer. In the course of four weeks he would be as thin as a whipping-post, and far stronger than he has ever been in his life. Two young English women lately came to Egypt and circulated a prospectus, in which they undertook, for a due consideration, to instruct the ladies of the harem, according to the European method, but their Mahomedan spouses did not give much encouragement to the scheme. Now, if an English boxer would take a hint from me, a better fortune might probably attend him, and poor Prince Said Bey might at length be rendered capable of undertaking his long-wished-for tour.*

My first interview with Said Bey was confined pretty well to the circle of the *lieux communs;* but

* As Said Bey has since visited Constantinople, for the purpose of marrying a Turkish princess, the paternal recipe has probably proved efficacious ; the marriage, however, does not appear to have taken place.

afterwards I became better acquainted with him, and found him of an exceedingly lively temperament and full of fun. Once we even climbed, for a wager, up the rope ladders of the admiral's ship to the topmast, and, spite of his corpulency, he far outstripped me. I must, however, add,—and I hope the reader will pardon my vanity in making this remark,—that I excited general applause, inasmuch as I was no seaman, and had performed my part in so masterly a style; the Arab sailors henceforth dubbed me the Prussian admiral,—a title, the ratification of which I have some thoughts of claiming on the banks of the Spree, when the German national fleet shall start into existence. I heartily wish that this said fleet may be conducted with the same firm determination, the same energy of resolution, but with superior judgment and ability in its operations, as the fleet of Mehemet Ali. The first Prussian man-of-war has already been launched,—why was it not called the "Amazon," since the Amazons have no descendants?

The *Nile* steamer which was built in London, is a real ornament to the fleet, and, not excepting the Medea—which is confessedly the most beautiful steamer in the British navy—is a nonpareil, and is maintained in the most perfect order by an English engineer. Some frigates, built in France, are equally distinguished in their way. Among the smaller vessels I observed more neglect, as, for example, in the brig in which I sailed from Candia, and the inefficient command and regulations, which I had had ample proofs of witnessing during my passage from that island.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.—ENVIRONS.

I WAS on the whole very much pleased with Alexandria and its Afric-European medley. The foreign consuls, who in general take the lead in society here, where something more of the etiquette of large cities prevails than in the other cities of the Levant and Barbary, live in much greater unanimity, and the numerous foreigners, especially Frenchmen, in the service of the viceroy, tend both to augment and to enliven the higher circles. Among others, a very splendid establishment was kept up by M. Von W., chief of a battalion and aide-de-camp of Soliman Pacha, and formerly chamberlain to the Duke of Lucca, whose lady is a member of a noble family in Hanover.

In this mansion the greatest luxury was combined with the utmost sociability; but it was highly characteristic of the rather superficial state of things here, when, one fine morning, the whole affair vanished in smoke; and the most wealthy capitalists of Alexandria learnt with horror that the excellent dinners to which they were daily invited by M. Von W. were provided with money which had been borrowed from them. Repayment was out of the question, and after a great piece of work they were obliged to submit to their fate. M. Von W., however, exchanged Alexandria for Constantinople. Besides a whole

host of adventurers, there are, however, many substantial families here, some of whom inhabit real palaces, and live in a corresponding style. Among the principal of these, I must especially mention the Swedish Consul-General, Chevalier Anastasi, whose style of living and hospitable entertainments would be considered grand and elegant in any part of the world.

I must indulge myself with saying a few words respecting this excellent man, as I accidentally came into closer intercourse with him, and will observe *en passant*, that our Berlin Egyptian Museum is indebted to his liberality for one of its most costly sarcophagi.

My worthy reader may perhaps have retained some remembrance of my secretary, Theolog, mentioned in the "Voräufer." Theolog is the son of a niece of the Chevalier Anastasi, who formerly defrayed the expenses of his education, but was so displeased with the hair-brained tricks and extravagant expenditure of his favourite at Munich, that he at length felt compelled altogether to withdraw his countenance from him. Hereupon the young man was brought into the most miserable condition, in which, in fact, I found him at Athens, and, rather from pity than necessity, took him with me, especially as I was just wending my steps towards Alexandria, where I trusted that I might effect a reconciliation between him and his great-uncle.

It was rather singular, by the way, that a celebrated diplomatic professor of Germany, who became acquainted with Theolog in Greece, and persuaded him to go to Germany, was, according to the assertions

of the latter, the chief instrument in leading my young protegé into the abovenamed scrapes. Theolog says, that he advised him to draw as largely as he could on his liberal relation in Trieste, where he had credit for the full amount of the sum which was set apart for the whole course of his studies. I have some reason to doubt this assertion, as M. Anastasi told me, laughing, that the said professor had written him a long letter, which he had carefully reserved as a very curious document, in which the young man sought to excuse his unpardonable conduct; by saying, "1st, That M. Anastasi was a merchant, and might consequently become bankrupt; 2nd, That M. Anastasi was already advanced in years, and might consequently die soon and suddenly; and that therefore he could not feel much offended with his nephew if he sought to make himself sure and independent, while he was pursuing his studies."

Such diplomacy, if it may not be termed clever, is at any rate very original. True, it missed its aim, and might have provoked the most lenient; nevertheless we succeeded in effecting a complete reconciliation with the good and noble-minded man: Theolog was reinstated in his favour—was supplied with a considerable capital, and, at the expense of his uncle, a mercantile concern was opened for him, in which he may become as rich as the Chevalier Anastasi himself, if he combines with that gentleman's knowledge of business the same good fortune, and more especially the same integrity and probity which have distinguished him. M. Anastasi himself was not always successful. At the commencement of his career, every thing went

wrong, and he was forced to become bankrupt. He came to a judicial composition with his creditors, whereby he allowed them 25 per cent. He recommenced in a small, unobtrusive way, but the wheel of Fortune had turned. She gave a double and a triple success to all his speculations, and, in the course of a few years, M. Anastasi was a very wealthy man.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating;" though not bound by law to do any thing, he called a public meeting of all his old creditors, or their heirs, and conscientiously repaid them both capital and interest, to the very last mite. Examples of this kind are rare, in this our egotistical age, and well merit the most honourable acknowledgment of the whole community.

Thus I lost my third travelling secretary on my present oriental pilgrimage; and it is singular enough, that all three of them had something of the prodigal son about them; and that I found an opportunity of bringing them all three back into their respective families. Whether the reconciliation will be permanent in every case, is quite a different question. As for myself, having successively had a Protestant, an Israelite, and a Greek-Catholic secretary (of whom the Israelite was incomparably the best), I had a great inclination to let my choice fall upon a Mussulman, as there are a great many here who have studied in Europe, and who may therefore know a great deal more than I do.

When Prince Said Bey returned my visit, he was accompanied by Vice-Admiral Hassan Bey, an accomplished European Turk, who spoke French so fluently,

that I took him for an orthodox French Christian, till I saw him suddenly kneel down and perform his Mussulman devotions, which a good Mahomedan has not the slightest scruple in doing when the hour is come, be he where he may. This admiral, who was formerly a Mameluke (body slave) of Mehemet Ali, is considered the best horseman in Egypt, a singular accomplishment certainly for a sailor; and he has besides seen much of the world, and many vicissitudes. He told us that when he was in Chili, his skill in horsemanship exceeded that of several of the most famous riders there, whereby their jealousy was excited to such a degree, that several attempts were made upon his life, and he was eventually obliged to leave the country.

The admiral now possesses one of the finest horses in Alexandria, a true Ned-shi, which, at my request, he one day mounted, and thus confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, his reputation for horsemanship. It was impossible to sit firmer and with more grace upon any horse, or to have such a fiery steed more completely under one's command. His dapple-grey horse, with an Isabella tail, which I describe for the benefit of the hippologue, was not very high, but of a powerful and firm make, pretty strong, small symmetrical bones, and would have been pronounced perfectly beautiful, by his exceedingly just proportions, if his neck had not been too short, a defect which often exists among the Ned-shi. Its fetlocks were longer than those of the generality of the Arabian horses, and it is as fiery as it is gentle. Yet even this horse did not belong to the noblest race of the

desert; of which Hassan Bey, who formerly took part in the war against the Wachaoees, gave the following description:—

"The only animals of this select race which I ever saw," he states, "were the favourite horses of Abdullah, the leader of the Wachabees. They were taken prisoners by us with their masters; and had it not been for this chance of war, they could not have been procured at any price, however high. They stood full a hand higher than my horse; their eyes and bones resemble those of the gazelle; and the latter, though very delicate, were as firm as steel. Their beauty, and the grace of all their actions, were incomparable, and our first-rate horses could not in the least compete with their extraordinary agility and swiftness, and their untiring endurance of fatigue." These noble animals unfortunately perished that same year, in an Egyptian stud, which at that time was in a very bad condition, and they thus proved of no advantage to the Egyptian breed.

I must now return to the state of society at Alexandria.

Among the various means of social entertainments of this city—the chief of which is a high game of hazard, which is played in private houses, an old fashion, which took its origin in the good times *des soupers*, to the latter of which I am by no means unfriendly—I must mention two very neat adjoining amateur theatres, the one French, and the other Italian. The first of these is the principal, and owes its establishment and support almost entirely to the indefatigable zeal of M. Reinlein, Vice-Consul of

Holland; who, sometimes like a Talleyrand in miniature, has recourse to all the finesse of a diplomatist, and at others, as the happy imitator of Mehemet Ali, puts into active play all the energy of his will, to keep together the troops of distinguished volunteers, who are frequently disposed to rebellion. M. Reinlein lives and moves only in the atmosphere of music and theatricals; and as I am of opinion that a strong passion for these arts, when it can be fully gratified, forms a considerable portion of the enjoyment of life, we may congratulate M. Reinlein, because the riders on hobby-horses are far more to be envied, than those who elect the Pegasus, or the war-steed of ambition. It is true that M. Reinlein, in addition to this happiness, possesses the agreeable acquisition of a most lovely and amiable Spanish lady as his wife, for which he is probably still more envied than for his amateur theatre.

I am sorry to say that the French theatre was closed at this time, and I must therefore express my thanks, that not the slightest opposition was made to an *improvvisatore* in honour of my unworthy self, in the residence of M. Lesseps, the French consul, and which was arranged in the course of a very few days with the greatest alacrity. The subject was a piece from Scribe, and the chief characters were performed in a masterly style by Madame Von Wülfingen and Mr. Janin, a St. Simonian, and brother of the celebrated Perlet. Mr. Janin especially distinguished himself in the second piece, from the *Comédien d'Etampes*, in which his incomparable caricature of the English lady excited the more

laughter, because many of the spectators had lately seen, if possible, a still more ludicrous original of this caricature in *nature*, and therefore had it fresh in their minds.

In the Italian theatre, I only, on one occasion, attended a concert, where several singers displayed much talent, especially one lady, among whose devoted admirers was Lord Byron.

The Alexandrians, like their forefathers in ancient times, are still fond of making parties of pleasure by land, although they now have scarcely any land of their own left; and, instead of the delightful groves, which formerly surrounded the villages of Lake Mareotis, and where that delicious wine was produced, which is celebrated by Horace, Athenäus and Strabo, nothing is met with but a bare morass, sand-hills, and foreign wines! There are, however, some few oases which have a more favourable appearance.

In order to make myself acquainted with the environs, I mounted my horse one fine Friday, which is the sabbath of the Mussulman, on an excursion to view the few cultivated spots in the vicinity. I was accompanied by M. and Mdme. Roquerbes, the latter the handsomest Smyrna lady in Alexandria, and the only one among my acquaintance here who understands the art of preparing Turkish coffee, in ideal perfection. We first visited a villa belonging to the Minister Boghos Bey, which is ornamented with noble palm trees, and a pretty flower-garden. Many of the date trees were loaded with fruit, which I tasted in their fresh state, for the first time at Alexandria, because, when I was in Barbary, it was not the season when

they are ripe. They have not the least resemblance with the dried dates, which we eat in Europe, but are more like our plums; they are of a dark-blue colour, extremely juicy, but, to my taste, rather too luscious.

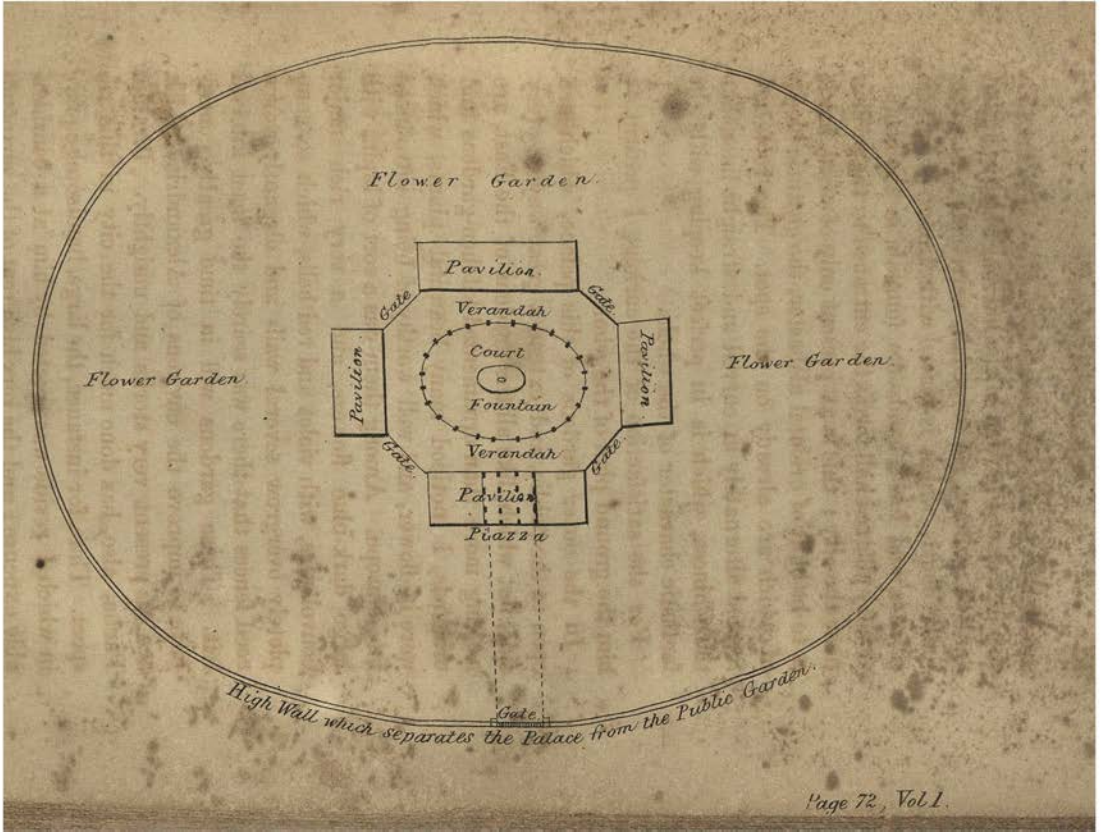
Riding past a double row of windmills, which were introduced into Egypt only ten years ago, and by a large cotton magazine belonging to the Viceroy, we proceeded to Mehemet Ali's country-seat, which was in the course of erection. It is certainly very magnificent, but is built entirely in the Turkish national style, which is not devoid of gracefulness, though a pure taste cannot fail to be offended by the barbarous mixture of beautiful marbles and wood saturated with oil; of richly gilded ceilings, and rough whitewashed walls; and other similar incongruities and absurdities. It was, as I have observed, the Turkish sabbath, and we saw many persons walking in the garden, but when we reached the entrance of the palace, we found it barricaded, and no person within to give us any information. In order to have a better view, M. Roquerbes and I clambered to the top of the wall, which is within the extensive public garden, and surrounds the palace on account of the harem. After we had hallooed for a long time, a half-clad Arab at length appeared. He had a huge hatchet in his hand, with which he at first most savagely defied us, but on our promising him a bakshish he employed the formidable weapon in cleaving the wooden bolt of the gate which had impeded our entrance.

The form of the palace is singular; it is, nevertheless, adapted for every possible comfort. It consists of four isolated pavilions, built in a quadrangle, which

are united at the four corners by lofty gates leading to the inclosed garden of the harem; a gaily-painted vaulted gallery, or verandah, surrounds the whole inner court, which is paved with stones of various colours, and has a handsome fountain in the centre. A lofty pillared hall forms the entrance to the pavilion next the city; this is at present only of wood, but it is to be built of oriental alabaster, the gigantic blocks of which are already on the spot. The roofs are formed alternately in curved and straight lines, like the Chinese, which is in perfect keeping with the fantastic character of the whole.

For the satisfaction of the curious, I present to him the ground plan of the whole.

In the outer gardens of this palace, which are open to the public, and extend a great way on every side, but which, like all the gardens of the East, are nothing more than ornamented kitchen-gardens and orchards, I noticed many beautiful plants, which were in flower, and well worthy of being introduced into Europe. Among them was a sort of lupin, with large dark-blue flowers, and a very rich major convolvulus, with violet and red bells, which so completely overgrew several walls and elegantly-woven reed fences that there was scarcely the least interval left. These gardens will in time greatly contribute to improve the environs of Alexandria, which are at present very sterile and unsightly. Ibrahim Pacha, also, has done much for the city in this respect. Thus, for instance, the large, handsome square in which I reside was erected by him at a considerable expense; and the very high rent of the surround-


Flower Garden
Pavilion
Gate
Verandah
Gate
Pavilion
Court
Fountain
Flower Garden
Flower Garden
Pavilion
Gate
Verandah
Gate
Pavilion
Piazza
Gate
High Wall which separates the Palace from the Public Garden

ing hotels, which he has built, is generously assigned as a fund for pensions to the widows of the officers of his army. In Cairo and Syria, Ibrahim Pacha does still more.

It is, however, extremely difficult to excite in the natives themselves any taste for plantations, gardens, &c.; and the endeavours of the Viceroy have frequently been defeated by the general indolence and indifference which prevail on this point. Some years ago he caused many thousand olive trees to be distributed gratis, but scarcely one of them is now alive, because, in the first place, they were planted in a slovenly manner, and, in the second, not the slightest care was bestowed upon them afterwards. Hence, too, the banks of the Mahmudie canal—that gigantic work of Mehemet Ali's, on which 50,000 men were daily employed, and which was completed in its whole length of twenty leagues in the space of a few months —are mere barren, cast-up slopes; whereas, considering the rapid growth of trees in this climate, they might, by this time, resemble the romantic banks of which Dufard el Hadad sang as follows:—

"What charms surround thee, O Canal of Alexandria! thine aspect ravishes the soul! The beauteous groves which overshadow thee, form verdant arcades above the happy shipper, who navigates thy waters. The breath of the North gently ripples the surface of thy waves, and diffuses delicious coolness over thy limpid stream. The noble palm gently bending its graceful crown, like a bashful maiden, is adorned with its coronal of pendent fruit," &c. &c. (See Prokesch's description of this canal.)

It must have been a work of no small difficulty to dig the Mahmudie canal, since neither spades nor shovels, nor even wheelbarrows, are known in Egypt; and the workmen scoop up the soft earth with their hands; it is then carried away in baskets, a process in which both adults and children have acquired such extraordinary dexterity, that they would hardly be persuaded to adopt the European method.

On our way home, we visited Mehemet Ali's town residence. It lies at the point of the tongue of land which stretches out between the two large harbours. The passion of this sovereign for fine avenues is very characteristically manifested here; a wide path, 2000 paces in length, which leads from the city to the palace, is lined with roofless towers, eight feet in height, which said towers have no other destination than that of affording protection to the young acacias which are planted inside. The palace is truly royal, and of great extent; the halls of audience are very plain, but of noble proportions; and the grand staircase, of Carrara marble, is beautiful. But here, again, the eye is offended by the incongruity of balustrades, of ordinary wood, painted white! In one of the saloons, quite contrary to Mahomedan custom, there is a colossal bust of himself, made of plaster of Paris, which was executed with considerable skill by one of the St. Simonians, now resident here. In some respects it is a good likeness; but the artist has totally failed in catching the peculiar and striking expression of the physiognomy of the great Pacha.

The principal splendour of the Mussulman is always

reserved for the harem. This part of the palace was, however, inaccessible to us, because, unluckily, some of the ladies had remained here; we were, however, permitted to see the large sea-bath, which must be most agreeable in the heat of the sun, and where the Viceroy sometimes gives audience.

I here parted from my amiable companions, and took a boat to go on board a Turkish corvette from Constantinople, which had lately brought hither an ambassador from the Sultan. The captain received me very politely; he was dressed entirely in the Russian manner, with the exception of the fez (here called tarbush), and with much politeness showed me every part of his vessel, which was built in America. There was not indeed an equal degree of elegance, but, to my surprise, scarcely less order and cleanliness, than in the Egyptian fleet; and the marines, in European uniforms, red jackets, and dark grey pantaloons, appeared to be on a par with the Arabs in point of training, but they looked more clumsy, and, in the rapidity of their manœuvres, the Turkish seamen are said to be as inferior to the Egyptian, as the latter are to the English.

During my residence at Alexandria, I was invited to a series of dinners and suppers, which gave me an opportunity of forming several agreeable acquaintances. Among those with whom I was particularly pleased, I must especially mention M. Dumreiker, the Danish Consul-General, a Bavarian by birth, who is one of the most estimable foreigners in Egypt, and who must be held in high esteem by every German, because, by the manifold services which he has

rendered to individuals of that nation, he has long since acquired the title of "Father of the Germans."

The second remarkable person is M. Hedenborg, the celebrated Swedish naturalist, who, until Russegger's visit, approached nearer to the mountains of the Moon than any other traveller, although he had not any support of the authorities; unfortunately he was attacked by a severe climatic disease, from which he has not quite recovered, and which, for a time, has reduced him to a state of inactivity. His collections of natural history, which he made in the course of seven years, and which he has sent to his own country, are said to be some of the finest of their kind. This able man, who is animated with the ardent enthusiasm of a true philosopher for his department of science, greatly delighted and attracted me.

To complete my select trio, I must introduce a totally different character—the general of the Capuchins, legate of the Pope for Hindostan, and archbishop of Adra, to which See he is now proceeding by way of Alexandria and Bombay. He is a handsome man, scarcely thirty years of age, of the most agreeable and polished manners, very cheerful, and apparently free from prejudice. He preached several sermons here, which attracted all the fashionable world, and for the time drew them away from the private theatricals; for the wily archbishop, who had a thorough knowledge of human nature, contrived to make his discourses highly piquant, by telling the ladies in his sonorous Italian the strongest and most unpleasant truths, veiled in perfidious compliments. I was greatly amused,

and really could not help smiling in listening to one of these sermons, which began in the following words: "O ye frail and thoughtless sex, who appear in this secret place only from vanity, — that your charms, which are so seductive, and your dress, which is so elegant, may be admired by worshippers still more thoughtless than yourselves," &c. In a few weeks this original apostle became the favourite orator of the fair sex of Alexandria; let no one therefore presume to say that the ladies do not like to hear the truth; all depends on the *how*—the *where*—and *by whom* the truth is told.

CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO CAIRO.

YESTERDAY I wrote to a lady who has a strong inclination to travel, but dreads its attendant dangers and fatigues, that if she had a mind to avoid both, I could not recommend a more convenient winter tour than through Egypt, where she might glide so gently along the venerable Nile in her saloon, surrounded by her own domestic and accustomed conveniences, that she would scarcely perceive that she was moving onwards unless she happened to look at the banks, which seem to pass rapidly by; and where, I demanded, can you travel with greater safety? Certainly in no post-chaise, and on no diligence in Europe.

The worthy General Besson gave me another and a last entertainment at his country-house. An arcade of vines leads from his dining-room to the Mahmudie canal, and Night had already spread her sable wings around when I passed through this delicious avenue, accompanied by the General and M. Roquerbes, to go on board the canja, which the government had had the kindness to place at my disposal, together with a kawass (here formerly called janissary).

I slept very quietly till morning, and I left the gondola at an early hour to go shooting, because, as the wind was against us, the sailors were obliged to

tow the vessel with ropes, and we proceeded very slowly. We, however, met with nothing eatable in the shape of game, with the exception of larks, which abounded in such numbers, that I frequently brought down several at one shot, and in a trice sent thirty of these plump little creatures to the kitchen. Birds of prey and sea-gulls were likewise very plentiful, and an endless flight of cranes, which occupied a quarter of an hour in passing, flew in regular columns over our heads to Europe.

> "Segler der Lüfte,
> Wer mit euch schifte
> Grüsset mir freundlich mein Vaterland,"

I exclaimed in a sentimental humour, and shot my last lark *figuratively*, for, in the midst of my reverie, I trod into a rat-hole, and fell with no small violence on the ancient classic soil of Egypt!

The country had a rather monotonous appearance from the bare dams which enclose the canal; to the north, in the horizon, were some green fields and the sea of Aboukir, and behind us lay the sand-hills of the desert. I breakfasted in one of the greatly decried Fellah huts, where I had excellent butter and milk, and for the first time in my life tasted fresh sugar cane, which I thought excellent. The rays of the sun were scorchingly hot, but in the shade the air was pleasantly cool.

As we approached towards Atfeh, the dams were partly planted with groups of acacia, under whose refreshing foliage the banks were covered with verdure, and in the misty distance we perceived the houses and minarets of Damanhour, the ancient

Hermopolis Parva, which rose above a palm forest to the south. It was evening before we reached the termination of the canal at Atfeh, where I was compelled to pass the night, as we were obliged to unload here and take another canja, because in the hurry to finish the canal, its junction with the Nile had been made several leagues above, so that there is not a sufficient fall for a sluice, or to permit vessels to pass. However, I lost no time in making my way through the crowd of people and the piles of cotton bales, in order that I might, before sunset, reach the other end of the village, where I was for the first time to look upon the sacred Nile. Moments like these amply reward the traveller.

The noble river here spreads to the breadth of the Elbe, between Dresden and Meissen; its waters also are nearly of the same colour, for they are slightly tinged with yellow: the banks, on the contrary, with the exception of the palms, more nearly resemble Holland than any other European country. The leaves of the poplars, mulberry, jujube, and other fruit were already strewn on the ground, by which the landscape was deprived of a great part of its beauty, and in many places where there were no evergreens, it looked more wintry than I could possibly have expected. Yet I was charmed with the rich verdant carpet under the cloudless, deep-blue sky. The marks on the high banks indicated how very much the river had already fallen. A peculiar method has lately been discovered of ascertaining whether "a good or a bad Nile" may be expected in the following year. The height to which it will rise is calcu-

lated from the greater or less abundance of rainy clouds which pass during the year across the sea from the north, towards Abyssinia; and some persons are specially appointed to make the necessary observations.

The governor of Atfeh had some difficulty in finding another canja for us, and we did not get afloat till noon on the following day, so that our voyage did not extend beyond Fouah. The Nile here spreads to a very great extent, and surrounds a wooded island. The town of Fouah is very considerable, and is most enchantingly situated amid orange groves, lofty reeds, boundless plantations of the cotton-tree, covered with its woolly fruit, and rich verdant clover-fields which extend far inland. Thousands of palms, interspersed with fine groups of tall sycamores—the king of Egyptian trees, are enlivened by rows of white manufactories, which glisten amid the green foliage, and, with their flat roofs, look at a distance like Italian palaces. Immediately adjoining them in the background, rise the dark masses of Turkish houses, generally two stories high, relieved by numerous gay minarets which tower elegantly above them, in the form of obelisks and columns,—all these strange and picturesquely diversified objects presented, at the very outset, one of the most attractive pictures in our delightful sail up the Nile.

I landed not far from the city to enjoy the beautiful verdure, and finished my refreshing walk by a visit to some of the manufactories which lay on my way to the city. In one of these, such great numbers of fez or tarbush are now manufactured, that the supply

is not only sufficient to meet the demands of the country, but to admit of a considerable export trade. They are but little inferior in quality to those of Tunis. The work is executed by persons of both sexes, the children and some elderly people being employed on the lighter work, and adults on the more laborious part. I heard from their own lips, that they can earn from one to four piastres a-day; which, in this cheap country, is fully equal to the wages of our day-labourers. The work is carried on in large, airy, and cleanly apartments; the people are much better clothed than the Fellahs who work without doors, and I was glad to remark how healthy and cheerful they looked, and with what mildness they appeared to be everywhere treated by the overseers. There are no longer any Europeans in this manufactory, nor in the great cotton-yarn manufactory which I afterwards saw, and both of which are on the precise model of the English establishments of a similar kind, though it is more difficult to keep them clean here, on account of the fine dust which fills the air in the summer-time. The report that several manufactories were obliged to suspend their operations for that reason, is a mere fable of malevolent persons.

The Viceroy, who has everything on a gigantic scale, has created manufactures at a stroke, and almost as if by enchantment; just like Frederick the Great, who, in his time, was not a little blamed for precipitation, but to whom alone Prussia is indebted for its now flourishing manufactures. War, the plague, and the cholera, have indeed since compelled the Viceroy to have more hands employed in agricul-

ture, and hence many a speculation may not, perhaps, have turned out so profitable as was anticipated.

For these reasons, many operations have been suspended, but that which has been retained is all the more solid, and is preserved in a condition doubly laudable in such sudden creations, and among a people so averse from all innovations. I afterwards learned from Mehemet Ali himself, that he had not expended more than ten millions of Spanish dollars in toto upon all the manufactories which he had founded, and that he now received from them more than one million net profit, and which he confidently expected would increase still further. As far as Mehemet Ali is concerned, it cannot, therefore, be said, that the speculation has failed; and the Viceroy is certainly not the man to deceive himself in matters of this kind.

From the manufactories I proceeded to the bazars, where, in the stall of a dirty Arab, by way of curiosity, I purchased a toilette glass, made in Saxony, with the inscription "Chemnitz." In the immense crowd of this bazar I lost my Spartan Susannis (a dog given me at Mistra), and, in spite of all my endeavours, could not find him again, and I therefore had to stop for the night in order to make further search. In the morning I learned that my classical dog had again given a rare proof of his faithful attachment; taking precisely the way by which I had come, he had, so to speak, inquired for his master at the two manufactories, and, not finding me anywhere, had leaped into the water at the place where I had landed, swam across the Nile, which is more than a quarter

of a league in width at that place, and returned to Atfeh, from whence he was on the point of setting out for Alexandria, and where the messengers whom I had sent in quest of him met him, and had great difficulty in catching him. Covered with dirt, and tired to death, the poor animal arrived in the canja, where he was welcomed by the whole crew with a loud laugh at his melancholy appearance, and joy at his happy return.

In almost every book on Egypt I had read so much about the Almehs, or female dancers, who were described as inhabiting separate villages, living under their own peculiar laws, and swimming up to every bark that sailed along the Nile, that I was greatly surprised at not having yet seen one of them, and therefore, when at Fouah, I commissioned my kawass to bring some of them on board. It appeared that this amusement was put a stop to in Egypt, which for my part I regret, because it was characteristic and national. The Viceroy, for the sake of morality (which however seldom gains by such prohibitions), has substituted dancing boys for dancing girls, in Cairo; nay, he has even pronounced an anathema on these females, and, as his Highness is implicitly obeyed, none of them can venture to show themselves. I was however informed that if I had a mind, I might witness this national amusement in Upper Egypt, whither the Viceroy had exiled a great number of these dancing girls, and where the police was not so strict in the enforcement of the sovereign's regulation.

The view from Fouah is quite as beautiful as that towards it. Salaieh, a large town, rises on the

opposite bank, above the forest; and farther on there is a massive square black building, which frowns upon a thick palm-grove and endless plains, that vanish in the horizon like a sea.

As we proceeded on our voyage, the banks were still more lovely, and the chase more and more productive. We shot snipes, wild pigeons, fieldfares, and a pretty bird with gay plumage, which is likewise very delicate eating. We everywhere found the Fellahs friendly and ready to give assistance. Only once they opposed us, in the neighbourhood of a sacred tomb, and this they did solely for our own good, because the Santon, they said, would revenge himself if we did not respect his grave. We very obediently retired.

We continued our voyage the whole night, and on the following morning had a London fog, which is not uncommon on the Nile at this season. Till one o'clock in the afternoon we could scarcely see anything, except the water of the river and our own boat. Our crew, however, only sang the more lustily. The cries, groans, snorting, and singing of these Arabs, whatever they may be doing, is sometimes amusing, but more frequently tiresome: it often sounds as if they were receiving a bastinado, or were suffering from the colic; but they keep time in everything they do; sometimes you would imagine that the vessel was sinking, so fearfully does the noise increase; but lo, they are merely shifting a sail! To-day I could positively have fancied that we were attacked by pirates; and in fact there was a sort of combat, amidst loud and stunning cries, between our crew, who were towing the canja on the bank, which

was quite near, and several strangers who had come to the spot.

The cause was, that our reis owed a small sum of money to the villagers; and though my kawass endeavoured to exert his authority, the reis was obliged to pay, in order to redeem his men, who had already been taken prisoners. I am convinced that in this dispute more damage was done to the lungs of both parties than the whole affair was worth. These sailors are, however, very robust fellows, and can bear more, a vast deal, than others;—sometimes they row their vessel with great exertion,—sometimes they tow it along the bank—now pushing it forward in shallow places, or like squirrels climbing, with no little danger, to the top of their tall, slender masts.

We landed in the evening at the little village of Saïde Ibrahim, to purchase provisions, and found everything that the market of an European town affords; with very good beef and veal, and most excellent vegetables. A fat live sheep costs in Prussian money one two-thirds of a dollar, and a pound of butcher's meat 1½ groschen. Vegetables were to be had almost for nothing. I mention this again as a proof how destitute of truth are the descriptions of the wretchedness and want prevalent among the country people in Egypt.

After the detestable fog in the morning, we had a remarkably fine moonlight night; and though all strangers are admonished not to expose themselves, during such nights, to the open air, none of us experienced any bad effects from it. This, like many other things, is exaggerated; and I believe that

neither night nor day is dangerous in Egypt, if people only carefully guard against taking cold, and avoid partaking of heating food, which are the chief causes of ophthalamia. It is said, too, that this disorder has very much decreased with the commencement of civilisation, and the consequent change in the mode of living, and more suitable diet, which have followed. We, indeed, still see many persons blind of one eye, and sometimes both; but that one person in twelve has some affection of the eye, as certain travellers affirm, is an absurd fable.

At this season of the year, when the country is less pleasing than at others, and consequently furnishes less matter for observation, the following circumstances, though I was well acquainted with them from books, afforded me much amusement.

In the first place, I was struck with the singularly formed buffaloes, which often swam through the river, and whose young, contrary to the nature of other animals, are infinitely more ugly than the old ones. Next, the women, who dexterously and gracefully carried large high pitchers, of antique form, on their heads, and reminded me of similar representations in my pictorial Bible; the quiet devotees, also, along the Nile, who at sunset are often strangely illumed, as if surrounded with a nimbus, attracted my notice; and so did the singular travellers, who, on a raft made of reeds, and scarcely five feet square, row across the broad river, with their whole family; a custom which is mentioned by Strabo, but is not to be recommended, except to able swimmers. Next in order come the many hundred pointed dovecotes, in the form of

bishops' mitres, which abound in the villages, and about which the pigeons fly like swarms of bees; and last, not least, the sakeyeh, or Persian water-wheels, turned by oxen or camels, the creaking of which can be heard at a great distance, and which stand in an uninterrupted row along the river. I must, however, not forget the numbers of dogs without masters, which are everywhere running about, and whose very peculiar habits were a much more interesting study to me than my poor Susannis, whom they attacked in common as a stranger; whereas they never molest man, nor make any resistance when they are struck, as though they felt obliged to every individual for the toleration granted them by all. It is also remarkable that the Turks and the Egyptians, though they treat them as they do all animals, with great kindness, never keep dogs of their own, but only cats; the reason doubtless is owing to religious prejudice, which designates the dog, like the swine, as an unclean animal. I likewise remarked, that a Turk never lays hold of a dog, except with his left hand.

As far as I can yet judge, Lower Egypt has scarcely any resemblance with Barbary. In the first place, it is devoid of the lofty mountains and rocks, but Barbary cannot boast of such a majestic river. The towns and villages in Barbary are always painted of a dazzling white; they are agreeably situated amidst verdure, or are built against coloured rocks, and even when they are surrounded with bare sand, still shine as if they were splendidly ornamented, at least when seen from a distance. Here, when on account of the inundations of the Nile, the houses are built on arti-

ficial grey sand-hills, and are, for the most part, black, and built of brick, they have a solemn and rather melancholy character; even the palms, which are everywhere seen, impart to the landscape an uniformity of aspect, and the interminable green tracts, which look as if they were plains, also weary the eye in the long-run.

The palms themselves have a very different appearance in the two countries; in Barbary they are low, with wide-spreading crowns; here much higher, but often with mere tufts of leaves at the top of their bare stems. It is said that in this manner they bear more fruit. In many respects, in consequence of the advance of recent civilisation, this country, like Algiers, reminds us of Europe,—whereas Tunis, and the rest of Barbary, have still retained an entirely African character.

As the wind continued contrary, and we advanced very slowly, I remained two days in my cabin, busily occupied in writing, only looking at the passing objects through the windows, till we came to a spot where the desert extends in smooth downs to the Nile. This afforded a change, and I therefore landed. The sand was in general so hard that I walked with great comfort, and rarely enough sank slightly into it. The appearance of this very varied surface, though wholly destitute of vegetation, has nothing so frightful in it as we generally understand by the term desert; and I can assure the citizens of Berlin, for their comfort, that many places in their neighbourhood surpass this real desert.

The pleasure afforded by this barren plain did not

however last long, and immediately afterwards we were again among the most fruitful meadows, adorned with trees of every kind, which almost universally border the Nile, from Alexandria to Cairo. But as the river here makes a great bend, we walked on so far in advance of our vessel, that after sunset we were obliged to turn back to meet her. During this little excursion we shot some wild geese and ducks; and my servant Ackermann cruelly killed four turtle-doves at one shot in the summit of an evergreen tree, which is said sometimes to emit a melodious tone in the evening breeze like an Eolian harp. Our vessel, following the deeper part of the stream, had approached nearer to the opposite bank, so that we were obliged to cross in a boat. The black Arab, who rowed us over without assistance, and with herculean strength, resembled notwithstanding the celebrated French skeleton, who unfortunately met his death in England by eating a beefsteak, to which he was not accustomed, and which, in an unguarded moment, he had been tempted to partake of. The man before us really consisted of nothing but skin, muscles and bones, and we thought him an excellent representation of Charon.

A faint north wind had set in, which carried us forward rather more quickly during the night, and when I arose I descried the Pyramids of Ghizeh, which looked like the summits of blue rocks in the distant horizon. How many years had I longed for this sight! To see them at length before me filled my soul with a soothing, delightful composure; and I beg the critics to excuse me for once, for this fit of

sentimentality, without ascribing it to affectation: from the unprejudiced reader I have nothing of the kind to fear.

Having advanced thus far, we became more and more aware that we were approaching the capital. The green tract along both banks of the river is broken by isolated country-seats, surrounded with walls, and the citadel, at the foot of the dark Mokattam, glistens in the distance. We passed the splendid gardens of Shoubra, farther on, the towering chimneys of the steam-engines, with extensive manufactories, emitting volumes of black smoke into the azure sky; and thus, hastening from one surprise to another, we at length reached Boulaq, the harbour of Cairo, on the side nearest the sea. Here, in motley confusion, was the busy life of commerce, and, opposite, the most delightful contrast was presented by the beautiful island of Garante, lying in idyllic repose, with its country-seats and extensive plantations, behind the transparent screen of weeping-willows, like a lovely woman enwrapt in a gossamer veil to attract the greater attention.

Cairo itself was still hid from my view, for it was masked by several large palaces in the suburbs, which lay clustered together on the banks of the Nile; the traveller rather imagines than beholds its real existence; and only some of the tops of the cupolas and minarets, which are visible here and there between the river, and the steep rocks of the Mokattam, betray the immense city, "the sea of the world," as it is poetically called in the East.

CHAPTER X.

CAIRO (MASR EL KAHIRA).—INSTALLATION IN THE PALACE OF BAKI BEY.—IBRAHIM'S BUILDINGS AND GARDENS.

I LANDED in the island of Garante, and repaired to the vacated country-seat of Ismael Pasha, a grandson of the Viceroy, who was burnt in his tent at Shendy. Here I intended to pass the night, by the presentation of a bakshish to the superintendant, as this is perfectly consonant with oriental custom. I did not wish to make my official entrance into Cairo till the following morning, after I had enjoyed some repose. Everything necessary was accordingly prepared by my dragoman, and while some rooms were hastily being put in order for me, I made use of the interval first to look about in the parterres of the former seraglio, which were more than usually elegant, and then to take a walk in the avenue of weeping-willows, which is full half a league in length, and which I so greatly admired, as I viewed it from the water. It runs always close to the bank of the Nile, where one picturesque scene after another appears on the opposite side of the river, between the pendent branches, while on the side towards the interior of the island there is an extensive plantation of young olive-trees rising above a field of bright green clover. I and my Greek page were the only individuals in this avenue, with the exception of an athletic, naked Egyptian,

who had probably been bathing in the river, for he held a bundle of reeds in his hands.

I had just stopped to take a more accurate survey of the stately residence of Ibrahim Pasha, which lay before me, when several persons, beckoning and calling at a distance, came running after us. My projected *incognito* was at an end. The Viceroy, who intended to receive his son, who was daily expected from Syria, at present inhabited Ibrahim's palace; he had already heard of my arrival, and by his orders a gondola was sent to meet me, and convey me to Baki Bey's palace, which, as I was informed, was placed at my disposal, had been entirely new furnished, and was provided with all the necessary attendants and servants.

When I arrived there, I found a guard of honour already at its post, and several richly caparisoned horses at the door; an upper kawass of his Highness with a long staff, the silver top of which was adorned with many rattling chains, walked before me with much gravity, followed by six subordinates, amidst the beating of the drums of the guard. The Mamelukes, servants and slaves appointed for my service, as long as I should remain here, received me in the entrance hall, and conducted me to the divan or saloon, where a long pipe, richly adorned with brilliants, and highly aromatic Mocha coffee in an enamelled cup likewise sparkling with diamonds, were respectfully presented to me.

With the considerate delicacy and politeness which distinguishes the Oriental, they left me for an hour to undisturbed repose. Then, and not before, the

master of the house, who is the chief of the council, and has the rank of general, came to welcome me as his guest. He is a Turk, born in Greece, and belongs to an eminent family in the Morea. He was accompanied by Mr. Bonfort, the brother-in-law of our consul at Alexandria, the factotum of Ibrahim Pasha, and one of the most estimable men with whom I have become acquainted in Cairo, and who acted as Baki Bey's interpreter on this occasion.

Artim Bey, the dragoman of his Highness, came soon after, and brought the most friendly greeting from the Viceroy. He requested that I would look upon the palace and servants as my property; and even added, that his Highness regretted that he was not able to lodge me in the residence of a pasha, because all qualified persons of this rank were absent on business. He at the same time informed me, that the Viceroy had commissioned Mr. Lubbert, the historiographer of Egypt and counsellor in the department of Public Instruction, to accompany me everywhere as my *cicerone*, and to show me everything that was remarkable in the city and neighbourhood. I really found it difficult to express my gratitude for so many unexpected and unmerited marks of honour, and for such magnificent hospitality; but Artim Bey, who received part of his education in Paris, most politely and indulgently relieved me in my awkward acknowledgments. Many other visitors paid their respects to me, and among them I was particularly interested in Samy Bey, the principal aide-de-camp and favourite of his highness, who enjoys great reputation here, not only as a statesman,

but also as a scholar, versed in the oriental languages, and as an erotic poet. He was followed by Muktar Bey, lieutenant-general, and head of the department of Public Instruction, who has resided seven years in Europe, and who to a dignified manner unites a pleasing style of conversation; but he is said not to be much liked as a minister.

The palace which I inhabit is in the suburb, in an extremely delightful situation, for it is close to the Nile, being divided from it only by a narrow flower-garden; so that from my bed-room window towards the right, I see before me my favourite island of Garante, and on my left, the eternal Pyramids, behind which, at the moment of my writing, the sun is setting like a ball of glowing fire.

This house has, besides, an historical importance. It was built by the celebrated Mehemet Bey, the most confidential companion and servant of Mehemet Ali, who, on that memorable day which decided on the sovereignty and the life of the Viceroy, conceived the plan for the destruction of the conspiring Mameluke chiefs, and undertook the execution of it himself. It was discovered by a happy treachery that, in the course of three days, on the occasion of a grand review which Mehemet Ali had ordered, the Mamelukes intended to fall on him with their whole force, and, if possible, to get rid of him and all his adherents at one blow. It was necessary to anticipate them, which, for want of sufficient force, could not be done openly, and yet not a moment was to be lost. Everybody knows the desperate means that

were resorted to; yet there are many errors in the details which we hear in Europe.

Thus for instance, Forbin's picture, which is universally known by the engraving which has been made of it, represents the scene as if Mehemet Ali had been a looker-on, as if he had been witnessing a theatrical representation—quietly smoking his pipe. The truth, however, is, that he was not present, and, indeed, he could not have been there, as is evident from the locality. As soon as the Beys had taken leave of him and mounted their horses in the court-yard, Mehemet Bey said to him, "Your part is now over and mine begins; I conjure the Pasha to retire to his harem." This he immediately did; and eye-witnesses, eunuchs from the seraglio, have assured me that the Viceroy, quite confused and silent and in great agitation of mind, awaited the result. He spoke not a word, and several times asked for a draught of cold water; while the noise of the firing, the tumult of the horses without riders, and the agonising cries of the dying, reached his ear from the distance.

This is nothing more than humanly probable, and Mehemet Ali is really as little blood-thirsty as Napoleon was; but he is not a Louis XVI., and therefore does not spare blood when it must be shed; and when, if employed at the right moment, it saves —by the sacrifice of a few victims—the lives of hundreds of thousands, and very often lays the foundation of the future welfare of whole nations; whereas, effeminate forbearance has often caused their ruin: independently of this, every one is bound to take care of himself. If any man attempts to throw me

into a pit, I wrestle with him, and throw him in, if I possibly can; and if I did not attempt to do this, I should be a blockhead indeed.

At a later period, Mehemet Bey distinguished himself by an equally bold act, for an envoy from the Sultan coming to Cairo, in the absence of Mehemet Ali, to bring him the bowstring, Mehemet Bey, without much consideration, or waiting for instruction, *provisionally* caused him to be beheaded.

I did not leave the house on the first day of my stay in Cairo, and devoted it merely to domestic business, to my new arrangements, the bath, and to repose, which I greatly needed. On the following morning I repaired to Ibrahim's palace, to have an audience of the ruler of the country.

The way, which is a full quarter of a league in length, led me through a part of the new promenades, which had been made within the last eight years by M. Bonfort, by order, and at the expense, of Ibrahim Pasha. They are intended to occupy the whole of the immense space between the Nile, Boulak, Cairo, and Fostat, and two-thirds of this gigantic plan are already completed—a truly princely undertaking—for, in the place of the smiling verdure under the shade of trees, which have already attained a considerable height, there were formerly innumerable masses of black heaps or rather mountains of rubbish, from fifty to one hundred feet high, all of which have been carefully levelled for the purposes of irrigation, and provided with many sakeyehs, turned by oxen, before anything could be planted or cultivated on the spot.

Ibrahim Pasha, who, in Europe, is known only as a brave soldier, is here admired as a benefactor. He is a planter and cultivator on an immense scale; and, not content with this, he has extended his improvements to several parts of the neighbouring eastern desert beyond Cairo, all of which are under the direction of the indefatigable Bonfort, who has now above 10,000 workmen in pay for all the establishments of Ibrahim in Upper and Lower Egypt, who daily receive from one-and-a-half to three piastres, and are regularly paid in money every Friday. What European princes do as much! And would it not be really barbarous to withhold our esteem from such conduct?

I very well know that Ibrahim Pasha is not the man to act in this manner from motives of pure philanthropy. It is a speculation, like the houses which he has built in Alexandria, which bring him in a good interest, and at the same time improve his future capitals; but, by this very means, he confers the greatest benefit, for, if the still rude population, who now bury their superfluous money, or let it lie dormant, see that the eldest son, and heir to the sovereignty, who is, at the same time, a celebrated warrior, appears with equal success as a promoter of the arts of peace, they will, assuredly, be induced to imitate him. We must never inquire too minutely into the motives of human actions, if their results tend to the general good. At the bottom, perhaps, we shall find in all of them, that the first germ is egotism, which conceals itself under a million of different disguises. No rule is more generally followed

in the world than "charity begins at home." But many do not perceive this, and still fewer confess it.

With the extraordinarily rapid growth of trees in this climate, (I saw some only fifteen years old, which among us would take at least fifty years to attain the same growth,) and with the uncommon activity of all vegetation; which requires only irrigation immediately to convert a desert into fruitful land, although without irrigation, fruitful land immediately becomes a desert; eight years will suffice to bring the plantations of this park to perfection, and then few capital cities in the world will enjoy such delightful environs, or more beautiful and shady promenades than Cairo. All these plantations are laid out in regular and noble forms; the only style, in my opinion, which is in character with the grandeur of this country, and of this I was immediately convinced, and will more clearly show in the sequel.

The chief tree planted is the noble sycamore, which is peculiar to Egypt and Nubia, and exceeds our oaks both in height and umbrageous extent; it has round leaves, resembling those of the alder, but they are larger, and of a more beautiful bright green colour; there are also several species of evergreen acacia, as well as the olive, the foliage of which is of a deeper blackish blue than those of Europe, and is extremely thick, but the tree does not bear such good fruit. Lastly, there are numbers of cypresses, mimosas, poplars, and some fruit-trees, all of which are planted in rows round open squares, or in quincunx, or in broad or narrow avenues, which are respectively destined for carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians; and here, where

it so seldom rains, soon become hard and level as a threshing-floor, and are daily watered on account of the dust. As no green sward will grow here, all the spaces between the plantations are sown with clover and other fodder of a dazzling green colour; and the small squares into which the ground is divided for the purposes of irrigation, have a very singular appearance, somewhat like a chess-board. Sometimes these tracts of fodder, alternate with a small kitchen garden, orange groves, and orchards, yielding various fruits. These are surrounded by hedges of flowering shrubs, and many palaces, country-seats, and other buildings give a lively diversified appearance to the promenades.

Among them is the tomb of Mehemet Bey, which he erected for himself during his life-time. It consists of two white pavilions, with iron railings; behind one of these pavilions the Bey, and behind the other his bosom friend, a derwish, repose in stone sarcophagi, which are exposed to view. The two pavilions are united by a large basin, which serves for the use of the public, for the Orientals have the laudable custom of combining all the monuments which they erect with a generally useful purpose.

The numerous sakyehs, which are here so necessary to cultivation, are covered by massive seats, the backs of which conceal the animals which draw the water, while the verandahs in front of them, entwined with flowering climbers and monthly roses, afford the most agreeable places of recreation. A grand avenue, a hundred feet broad, leads through the plantations of Cairo; and two others, of half that breadth, from Fostat and Boulak to the royal palace of Ibrahim,

before which the number of guards, the tumult of neighing horses, the many great men in splendid dresses passing to and fro, the crowds of Tshaushes and Kawasses, and 200 dromedaries, which constantly follow the Viceroy, in readiness to convey his messengers to all parts of the kingdom, sufficiently proved that we were approaching the temporary residence of the man whom Providence seemed to have destined vigorously to open the way to a more intimate union of the East and the West, and thereby to a higher degree of civilisation of both. The great powers of Europe have since checked these efforts, with superior force; and what force effects, as long as it lasts, is always well done!

CHAPTER XI.

AUDIENCE OF MEHEMET ALI.

THERE is something so great in a sovereign who holds his sway over millions that depend upon his nod, that I never approach such a one without a certain internal agitation; and how much more, then, when he is also so extraordinary a man as Mehemet Ali!

I, therefore, hope that my reader will feel obliged to me, and not attribute it to personal vanity, if I describe my first visit to the Viceroy very minutely; and in doing this, I shall, of course, be compelled, while speaking of the *great man*, to say something of the *insignificant personage*—my unworthy self, who was honoured with this interview.

Mehemet Ali is (or, at least, was at that time) a subject of daily conversation in Europe; and yet he is, in fact, but little known in that quarter of the globe. For what has been published respecting him in so many different shapes, contains too many contradictions to enable any one to arrive at a positive conclusion. I, at least, must candidly confess that I have not yet read anything of the kind which perfectly satisfied me. Many of these authors, who have had but a superficial glance at Mehemet Ali, judge of him according to unauthenticated anecdotes, and mere hearsay; and most of those who

know him better, are too often biassed in their judgments by personal motives, as I have already observed; so that they endeavour either to raise him too high, or to plunge him too low. In fact, very few Europeans have had an opportunity of observing Mehemet Ali with any degree of accuracy; for there can never be any intimacy in ordinary private audiences, however many, a person may be privileged to have; and, least of all, can it be arrived at, when business alone is to be treated of.

There are, perhaps, still fewer persons who, even if they did not lack opportunity, possess an adequate quantum of philosophical acuteness and unprejudiced freedom of character, correctly to represent a man like Mehemet Ali. Now, though I am far from considering myself competent to this task, it, nevertheless, seems to me to be a duty of gratitude, to contribute my mite towards a more correct appreciation of this prince, to whose mighty influence on the commencing regeneration of the East—of which I reckon the northern countries of Africa as a portion—futurity will do full justice.

In the East he shares this glorious influence with Sultan Mahmoud alone, who, in many respects, may be called his docile scholar; but, in Europe, France alone can claim such glory, by the conquest of Algiers—the incalculable consequences of which, to the future condition of the world, even if the present dependence of Algiers upon France should cease in the course of time, will always be a bright page in the history of the French. In many respects, it may even, perhaps, be placed above all the

fruitless and ephemeral conquests of Napoleon, though so fraught with military renown.

When I said, therefore, that I felt myself in some measure bound to consider Mehemet Ali as a principal subject of my work, this intimation was by no means founded on party view, but simply on the fact that, during a residence of nearly two years in the countries which he then governed, and which I traversed from the frontiers of Senaar to Adanah, in an uninterrupted extent of more than 25° of latitude, circumstances so favoured me, and the opportunity of becoming more intimately acquainted with Mehemet Ali, presented itself so frequently, and under such auspicious circumstances as can seldom fall to the lot of a private traveller, that I cannot but consider myself a fair judge of the events which fell under my notice.

Yet it is certainly not my intention to delineate a character of this great man which shall exhaust the subject, nor, when I deliver my personal opinion respecting him, to set it up as a standard, but rather (as far as discretion permits) by the simple, faithful narrative of what passed between him and myself, of what I saw of him and heard from his own mouth, and what reflections this excited in me, to enable the reader himself to draw from the whole a true and faithful portrait of the individual in question. The features alone, therefore, will be found scattered throughout the present work, which, indeed, its general arrangement rendered unavoidable, but the reader will not find it difficult to put them together; and the materials are so ample, that if all were worked

up into a continuous whole, it might probably have fatigued him. This prerogative belongs alone to classic writers, whom I must be contented to admire at a distance, without being able to presume to imitate. I therefore wish my very unpretending effort to represent Mehemet Ali, to be considered henceforth in this point of view.

His Highness received me in one of the lower apartments of the palace, which was filled with a respectful crowd of his courtiers and officers of state. When I had made my way through the midst of them, I saw the Viceroy standing on the platform, before his ottoman, with only Artim Bey, his dragoman, at his side. My surprise was great, for judging by the bust which I had seen at Alexandria, and some portraits which are considered as likenesses, I had pictured to myself an austere, nay, harsh-looking man, in a splendid Oriental dress, with features very closely resembling those of Oliver Cromwell. Instead of this there stood before me a friendly little old man, whose vigorous, well proportioned frame was set off by nothing but a freshness of complexion, and a cleanliness, which might almost be called coquettish, but whose features were equally expressive of calm dignity and benevolent good-nature, and who, though his sparkling eagle eyes seemed to penetrate my inmost thoughts, yet, the grace of his smile and the affability of his manner, inspired me with involuntary partiality, without the slightest tincture of timidity. He was dressed in a plain brown pelisse, with the white trimming of which, his venerable beard of the same colour was singularly blended; on his head he

wore a simple red tarbush, without any shawl or jewels to ornament it; he had no rings on his fingers, nor, what is so usual in the East, did he hold a valuable rosary in his hand, which, by the bye, is in general so beautifully shaped, that a lady might envy it.

I afterwards found that my first impression of this great man was perfectly in unison with the behaviour of his courtiers, who, though full of respect, are very familiar and easy in their intercourse with him: and while he treats individuals with a nicety of distinction, he always manifests urbanity to all around him. Nothing is more easy than to obtain an audience of the Viceroy; it is impossible for any governor to be more accessible, or to adopt fewer measures for his personal security than Mehemet Ali, who fearlessly exposes himself every day to the attacks of any fanatic who might aim at his life.

Would he venture to do this if he were indeed the tyrant, which the laughable ignorance and the malicious views of Europe designate him! Nevertheless, in spite of the dominant suavity of Mehemet Ali's deportment, and the mild, cheerful expression of his countenance, which give him the semblance of the most good-natured of our Christian monarchs, it cannot be denied, that in those moments especially, when he fancies himself unobserved, this expression assumes the most fearful mistrust; and that at those times the ungenial Turkish element, of which the Viceroy no doubt possesses his full share, is most unequivocally manifested. Much, very much, may be read in this expression, which, perhaps, betrays the weak side of his character: I will not, however, ven-

ture to censure it too severely, for a great man has light and shade in his character as well as every other child of Adam.

After the first salutation the Viceroy seated himself, and motioned to me to take my place on the ottoman beside him, after which pipes and coffee were brought in for both of us.

I will here say a few words touching the demonstrations of respect which prevail in the East, and especially in Egypt, as they may be unknown to many of my readers, and are nevertheless not without interest. There is far more etiquette than among us, and the gradations in society are strictly determined. And first with regard to salutations, which immediately indicate the respective position of the parties. The superior makes the first salutation; if his rank is much more elevated he lays his hand on his breast, while the person immediately below him raises his hand to his breast and then to his forehead, sometimes repeating this action twice. Equals, or those who are very nearly so, mutually greet one another in this latter manner, or they merely make a slight movement, much in the same way in which we kiss our hand. Persons of a very inferior condition, as a sign of subjection, perform the pantomime of raising dust from the earth, and throwing it on their head and breast. It is no uncommon occurrence, however, for the Viceroy to be saluted in this manner by generals and pashas. In intercourse with his subjects the Viceroy lays his hand on his breast; but with foreigners, whom he wishes to distinguish, he raises it to his forehead.

A seat on the ottoman is accorded only to persons of pretty nearly equal rank; and even the method of doing this has three different degrees;—1, to sit cross-legged on the very edge of the ottoman; 2, to rest completely on the seat with both knees, though at some little distance from the superior; 3, to make yourself as comfortable as you like, which can of course only be done by persons who are very intimate, or quite equal in rank. The presentation of coffee and pipes is likewise a mark of respect; but even here the shades are various, and are chiefly indicated by the more or less costly material in which they are offered. Whoever has the privilege of a seat, has, generally speaking, likewise that of a cup of coffee,—but the pipe is a greater distinction. Except at table, however, when all ceremony ceases, neither a pipe, a cup of coffee, in short not even a glass of water, or anything else, can be received; or when empty, be returned without a bow of acknowledgment. Nay, even the host himself, in his own house, if his visitor is of higher rank than himself, gives him a salute for that which his own servants have presented to him. In like manner, the highest in rank is always served first, whether it be the host in his own house, or the visitor in that of another person.

These accurately defined and firmly established rules are exceedingly convenient, when one is thoroughly acquainted with them, and appear to me far preferable to our present European manners; for, excepting in England, where etiquette is very decidedly regulated, it is impossible to know what

are the pretensions of others, or how much is due to ourselves; and the fear of doing either too much or too little is a source of endless perplexity.

In the chief states in Germany for instance, where all great things are so admirably managed, and where still greater things may yet be expected, there is, nevertheless, a sensible deficiency in regard to the convenience of social intercourse; because the rules of precedence are strictly laid down only in the public service; and in point of fact, those only enjoy the distinction of a certain definite rank, who are in the service of the court, or of the state; while every person, not belonging to this category, never precisely knows his place, either in society or at the several courts, whether he may be entitled to it by high birth, or by rank, or hereditary wealth; since, according to caprice or favour, one place is assigned to him to-day, and another to-morrow. It is not necessary to be eager after rank and titles to find this very inconvenient, because we are as little inclined to be humbled as to humble others; which, with this prevailing uncertainty, is wholly unavoidable; whereas, whenever precedence is fixed, this is quite impossible; only a fool can be vexed if a person who has the decidedly acknowledged right considers himself as above him in the scale of society, let him originally come whence he may; but if he seems only arbitrarily to assume this precedence, it almost amounts to an affront; and if the preference given be without any foundation, or proceeds from a person in an elevated position, it is a mortification.

England is the freest and certainly the most liberal

country in Europe; yet among that practical people what is due to every one through all ranks and degrees is so precisely regulated that a dispute about precedence is unheard of. In Russia there is none but official rank; and the body-coachman of the Czar would take the precedence of a descendant of the most ancient noble family, if the latter bore no official rank. This may appear to us rather strange, but it is positively fixed, and therefore every one knows what he is about.

When Louis XIV. established an order of precedence in France several of the courtiers were affronted, and some of them ventured to address the king on the subject. His majesty turning to M. Legrand, (as the then grand écuyer was shortly designated,) said to him, "*Et vous, qu'en dites-vous?*" "Sire," replied he, "*tout ce que je sais, c'est que le charbonnier est maître chez lui.*"

And, without doubt, an absolute governor has a right to do what he pleases in the matter, but to leave it undecided appears to me to be an anomaly.

I could bring to light many very striking instances to prove that the uncertainty which exists in regard to precedence of birth, office, service, and merit, not only constantly wounds the feelings of the most humble, but, that in some individual cases, it has really had the most injurious effect; were I, however, to do so, I must unveil personalities, regarding which the Oriental proverb whispers in my ear, "If speech is silver, silence is gold." And in the eyes of the frugal, I have perhaps already been too prodigal of my silver.

By the manner of his reception, his Highness the Viceroy treated me with the greatest courtesy; and the only marked difference which was made in the attendance was, that although both the pipes were brought at the same time, his pipe was presented a few seconds before mine, and also that the pipe, though not the cup, was not quite so richly inlaid with diamonds. This distinction was the more flattering, because it had hitherto been shown to only a very few persons; for instance, to Marshal Marmont, to the returning governor of India, and to an ambassador extraordinary from the court of France, during the war with the Porte, who, strictly speaking, was not altogether invested with that character, but whom Mehemet Ali nevertheless gladly received, and considered as such.

Whenever any of the consuls-general were present, I invariably saw that they were presented with coffee in common cups, and with small pipes; whereas, not any of the Mussulmans in the service of the Viceroy, not even Ibn-el-Aun, sherrif of Mecca, whom I twice saw with his Highness, had anything whatever offered to them.

This sherrif was a remarkably handsome and energetic-looking black Arab, and, as a descendant of the Prophet, was dressed in a grass-green talax and a white turban; his deportment was very submissive towards the Viceroy, and although he took the proffered seat on the ottoman, he nevertheless remained at a considerable distance, and in the position which I pointed out as the second, namely, on his knees. The Viceroy invites none but pashas of the first rank

and special favourites, to sit down beside him and take coffee. There are, of course, exceptions, as his will is law. One of these favoured mortals was Mehemet Bey, whom I have often mentioned; and I heard an anecdote of him relative to this etiquette which amused me not a little.

Mehemet Bey had of his own accord granted an addition to the income of an exceedingly active subordinate officer; this was of course instantly retailed to the Viceroy, who was greatly displeased at it. When Mehemet Bey next visited him, he not only gave him a reprimand, but further manifested his displeasure by not having any coffee presented to him. The Bey said not a word—went home, and gave an order that the pay of the officer in question should be augmented by an annual remuneration of four bags of gold; stating that if the Viceroy did not approve of it, he would pay the money out of his own pocket. Next day he appeared as usual in the presence of his highness—and what might be the conduct of the tyrant Mehemet Ali? Scarcely did he perceive his old friend, who was perhaps rather uneasy about the consequences of his boldness, when he called, with a smile, for coffee: "Come here," he added, "I shall take good care not to omit giving you coffee for the future, for I see that it costs me too dear."

I doubt not that many persons will find all these details of ceremony very trifling, but in my judgment they are an essential part of the description of the manners of the country, and therefore not superfluous.

I began the conversation with the compliments respecting health, which are a part of the etiquette of the East, and then hastened to express my gratitude for the friendliness and noble hospitality with which his Highness honoured me; but this I believe was not quite conformable to the Turkish custom, for Mehemet Ali smiled and shook his head, and then answered in a very obliging manner, that when a stranger of distinction came so far to visit him, surely the least that he could do, was to manifest his pleasure by giving him as good a reception as possible: he only regretted, he added with great *bonhomie*, that I should find everything here, in comparison with Europe, very imperfect.

This naturally gave me an opportunity to express my astonishment at the wonders which I had already seen in Alexandria and Cairo; and I begged his Highness to pardon me, if the enthusiasm which such extraordinary improvements inspired, should give my words the appearance of flattery, for they were only the faithful expression of my feelings, and of my profound veneration for a prince who now was to the East, what Peter the Great had once been to Russia, of whose fearfully increased power by land and by sea he alone had laid the foundation.

"In how much time," interrupted Mehemet Ali with vivacity, "did Peter the Great form his navy, and of what ships did it consist?"

I must confess that at the moment I knew neither the one nor the other; but being well aware of the rule, that one must never suffer a great man to remain unanswered, I gave, in reply to the unexpected

practical question, numbers which happily there was no one present to correct; adding quickly, that in the time of the Czar this branch of science was much more imperfect than it is now, and therefore the results might in this respect have been much inferior to the creations of the Viceroy, which probably were unparalleled in history. And in saying this, I only spoke the truth.

"Well," continued Mehemet Ali, "I will not deny that something more than common has been done here, and I have certainly endeavoured to follow the examples of great men, as far as it was in my power. It is certain too, that I can now continue the work with less anxiety. I am no longer quite alone as I was before: people begin to understand me; the machinery is at work; and my grandchildren, not my children, will be able to reap what I have sown. Where such infinite confusion prevailed as here, where there was such a complete dissolution of all sound political relations, and among a people so entirely barbarous, ignorant, and incapable of all useful labour, civilisation can revive but slowly. You know that Egypt was once the first land in the world—an example to all others. Now it is the turn of Europe. In time, perhaps, enlightenment may again have its seat here. Every thing in the world is in a constant state of vacillation." (This is a favourite expression of the Pasha.)

He then inquired in what condition I found Candia, and I was able to answer, with the strictest truth, that I had nowhere found the Greeks more really free and prosperous, and, for the most part, contented

than there; but that I was convinced that the Viceroy's severity formerly manifested towards them, during a partial insurrection fomented by foreign influence, had contributed as much to produce this happy state of things, as his impartial justice and mild sway since that period.

"They had attacked me in my honour as a sovereign," said the Viceroy, warmly; "and no prince must suffer this, who knows his duty and respects himself. For the rest I have always been ready to do everything in my power for the Greeks who are subject to me; nay, when the European powers continually made representations to me on this subject, I even offered to govern Candia on the model which European wisdom should set up in Greece itself, and only requested to be furnished, as soon as possible, with accurate information respecting the result; up to this day, however, I have never received any such information."

The irony of this expression was not to be misunderstood; I hastened, therefore, to turn the conversation on manufactories, and new establishments of every kind the object of which was to improve the country; and this was indeed the Viceroy's hobby, and surely one not unworthy of a sovereign.

He hoped, he said, that I should be satisfied with what had already been done, although he candidly allowed that a European standard must never be used here. "Soon," he added, "will this land be able, in case of need, to subsist for a time, without depending on other countries and their productions. For that reason, and not merely for the sake of gain—

though this does not fail me—I establish so great a number of manufactories. Besides," continued Mehemet Ali, "these establishments are, in several respects, one of the most powerful means towards the civilisation of the people, and would immediately," added he, with great animation, his eyes sparkling with delight, "supply me with 40,000 good soldiers, if I had need of them. Yet I desire far more, that fortune may permit me to devote all my powers exclusively to manufactures and agriculture. I have never made war except when it was unavoidable, and I am very far from being fond of it."

It is true that Napoleon always made this same assertion: however, I profited by the favourable opportunity to refer to the glorious campaigns of Ibrahim; but though a sign from Mehemet Ali had long since caused the whole court to withdraw, and we were alone, the Viceroy expressed himself on this subject only in commonplace, or, if you will, in diplomatic phrases. He smiled, however, when I said that his Highness had probably fared like Field-marshal Suwaroff, who often affirmed that "he did not love war, but that war loved him." And "I had also clearly perceived," I continued, "in the dock-yards of Alexandria, how well his highness understood to procure by war the means of carrying on war;" by which I meant the timber for his ships, of which he was formerly entirely destitute, whereas Adana now supplied him with excellent materials for every purpose requisite for this object.

A cloud passed over Mehemet Ali's countenance during this speech, and betrayed that he thought

more than he said upon the subject. It is certain that he must now be perfectly aware that his hesitation after the battle of Konieh, when he was surprised by unexpected success, is the only great political error which history can lay to his charge. Competent persons know very well that Ibrahim, if he had had his father's permission to occupy Brussa, and to advance towards the environs of Constantinople, to which there was no military obstacle after that battle, he would have been able, under existing circumstances, to dictate peace to the Sultan on his own terms, before Russia could have hindered it by arms.

The European powers, with good reason, had for years dreaded war too much, and were reciprocally watching each other with too jealous an eye, seriously to oppose a *status quo* once solemnly established, as experience has everywhere sufficiently proved since the death of Napoleon. In the case before us, diplomacy would doubtless have consumed some more millions of pens and a proportionable number of reams of paper and gallons of ink; nay, the protocols of the conferences would perhaps not even now be closed; but "the Great Pasha," as the strangers here call him, would nevertheless have maintained his position, and perhaps have thereby avoided the last catastrophe, and have been a self-constituted, at least partially recognised, and independent monarch, like Louis-Philippe in France, King Leopold in Belgium, and Donna Maria da Gloria in Portugal—without mentioning St. Domingo, the Spanish colonies, and Spain itself; in which latter country, the final undisputed

conqueror will likewise not fail to be generally recognised. Even the Poles would have been so, if they had only understood how to conquer.

I believe that all parties must have gained by this result, not excepting the Sultan himself, who cannot possibly govern Syria; and who, if he were to reconquer Egypt to-day, would still be only able to retain nominal possession of it; he would therefore have acted more wisely if he had consolidated, through civilisation and gradual reform, the colossal empire which remained to him, and which is much more highly endowed by nature than other countries, than by vainly endeavouring to recover provinces which had been once torn from it. Besides, the Sultan ought in reason to have preferred, instead of having an enemy under the name of a Pasha dependent upon him, but threatening him at any favourable opportunity, to have a free Mahometan sovereign as his neighbour, whose own interest, from the moment that he had acquired his independence, must lead him to become the most natural ally of the Porte; and lastly, the Sultan ought to have considered, that Mehemet Ali, in return for such a concession, would have been ready voluntarily to offer all possible pecuniary assistance: a resource which, in the condition of the Turkish finances, would have been much more important than the recovery of rebellious provinces, which cost more than they produce.

How often may the Spanish Government have already repented of having, in a similar situation, too long delayed an arrangement with its revolted colonies! It can scarcely be doubted, that no event was

more calculated to secure for a long time the repose of Europe, and the general peace, in more respects than one. The greatest advantage would undoubtedly have been derived by Mehemet Ali's own dominions and a considerable part of Africa, if this prince, instead of being compelled by his precarious situation, to lay out such immense sums on more than fifty ships and an army of nearly fifty thousand men, including the irregular bands, had been able to expend them in promoting internal industry of every kind, and in a thorough improvement of the condition of his subjects.

Science and art, the newly-commenced civilisation of a whole portion of the globe, were equally interested, and it was ill-judged, practically and theoretically, to oppose to such manifold interests only the illegitimacy of Mehemet Ali, since this fact does not present such an obstacle in the East, as it does with us. And if his power *was* illegitimate, the best way for the future tranquillity and stability of the East, would have been to make it legitimate as soon as possible, that it might not remain internally an open barrel of powder which would be again kindled by the first spark.

Mehemet Ali required for the immutable preservation of himself, his family, and the great work of his active life, that the independence which he had acquired *de facto*, should be recognised *de jure;* and surely he might justly indulge this hope, since the powers have elsewhere constantly acted in this spirit.

Did not Greece, as legitimately and as justly, belong to the Sultan as Egypt? or is King Otho

a vassal of the Porte? Had not the Sultan the same legitimate claims to Algiers as to Egypt? and does Louis-Philippe recognise the supremacy of the Porte in that country, because it formerly exercised it over the Dey? or has not Mehemet Ali an authority as firmly established? He is, to this moment, a far more unlimited, a much more respected sovereign in the territory which he has retained, than King Otho is in Greece, the French in Algiers, or the Sultan in his own empire, are at this very time.

If, therefore, he had taken advantage of the right moment, and, after having won the battle, had, as conqueror, assumed the title as well as the reality, and, with a bold hand, had placed the crown on his own head, it is probable that neither the sword nor diplomacy would have taken it from him, or even attempted to do so. But to endeavour, by way of negotiation, what he had neglected to do by promptitude, was a sad weakness, and rendered success impossible, even if he had had all the arguments in the world on his side.

In policy, as in love, there are things "*qui se font, mais qui se ne disent pas;*" and although the European Powers, to promote the independence of the Greeks, thought themselves entitled, in a moment of chivalrous exultation, to fight the battle of Navarino in the midst of profound peace, it might be questioned whether they would show equal sympathy for the independence of the kingdom of the Pharaohs. Some antiquaries and investigators of history and geography might, perhaps, have gone to work with predilection in the matter; but such people com-

mand neither fleets nor armies. I fear, therefore, that, to the disadvantage of the tranquillity of Europe and Asia, to that of art and science (for which, with a reviving civilisation, a new dawn broke over the East), and to the final ruin of Egypt itself, the words of our Schiller will be found applicable to Mehemet Ali:—"*Was du von der minute ausgeü schlagen, bringt keine ewigkeit zurück.*"—"What you have refused to accept from the moment, eternity will not restore."

In the preceding passage, the complexion of the time in which it was chiefly written may, indeed, be recognised; but I ask every impartial person, even now, what has the world gained by the crushing of Mehemet Ali with the weight of European superiority? Has Turkey thereby become more independent? or are Syria and Candia become more happy, more civilised, richer, or better governed, by the shedding of so much blood? Has the constantly increasing commerce of England, France, and Germany, gained by it? or, is it not rather almost destroyed? In a word, has any Power, I had almost said any individual, gained by it? But how much has been thereby lost, perhaps for centuries! and, alas! how many seeds have been sown for revolutions for future years!

In illustration of what I have here said, the reader may consult, among other recent testimonies, the letter of Mr. Wildenbruck, the Prussian consul in Syria, in the monthly Journal of the Geographical Society, at Berlin, which begin as follows:—

"With respect to the political state of the country

imagine the very worst, and you will approach the truth. Every thing, even the disposition of the people towards the Christians and Franks, is worse, more hostile, more disorderly, insecure, wretched, and hopeless, than at the time of my first residence here. Every thing is falling to pieces and dissolving, with a rapidity which I had never thought possible in the East, which is otherwise so stationary. Only the revenue of the pashas, and of the European merchants, who equal them in rapacity, prosper. This unhappy country has had for centuries but one benefactor, Ibrahim Pasha, and he has been expelled. I see with surprise that not a man, of whatever religion he may be, wishes for anything but the return of the days of Egyptian sovereignty. The only exceptions are fanatic Mahomedans, who are now greatly encouraged and favoured by higher powers, and who rejoice at being able to shoot a rajah for fifty piastres (a dollar and a half). This took place shortly after my arrival, in spite of the fair words of Gulhaneh. Ibrahim had established perfect security in the country, had done inconceivably much for agriculture, and had checked the inordinate plunder practised by those in office; of all this, however, scarcely a trace remains, and ere long even Lebanon itself, the last bulwark of a better and a more free state of things, will be drawn into the general ruin.

"The Turkish government (which once for all I desire to separate from the estimable Turkish people as individuals,) by instigating the Druses against the Maronites, has, in a great measure, broken the power of these people, who have maintained their liberty for

centuries; and now that both parties see with dismay the possible and probable consequences of this feud, and that the regulations for settling the state of the country, expected from Europe, seem more distant than ever, there is a want of mutual confidence to enable them to act in common," &c. &c.

Mehemet Ali, who is perfectly aware of this state of things, may therefore well entertain sanguine hopes for the future.

During my stay in Egypt, I could only be convinced, after his repeated assurances, that he had desired an amicable settlement of his affairs by the intervention and support of Europe, in order that he might devote all the energies of his mind to the weal of his own territory, as ardently as he was on the other hand deeply convinced of the truth, that the attainment of his recognised independence had now become, in every point of view, a vital question, perhaps even a condition of his own existence; at all events, that of the permanency of his labours, both for the present and the future. His *recognised* independence I repeat, for more than that he never sought for; and nothing is more absurd, or betrays a more profound ignorance of the Turkish constitution, religion, and of the deep-rooted convictions there maintained, than the apprehension so frequently brought forward, that Mehemet Ali desired to dethrone the Sultan, and put himself in his place. Mehemet Ali can no more do this in Turkey, than Prince Metternich, for instance, with all his influence, would find it possible in Christendom, to become Pope. To compel the Sultan to make him Grand Vizier, and so to govern the empire in his

stead, might perhaps have been possible for the Viceroy as a victor, and was *perhaps*, though I do not in the least believe it, one of his wishes: it is certain at least, that the fulfilment of it would have been more advantageous to Turkey than Mehemet Ali's overthrow.

That Mehemet Ali's endeavour to civilise his country to the best of his judgment, has been, for the most part, seen and ridiculed in our point of view, appears to me as short-sighted as it is inconsistent with the lessons of history. Egypt cannot at once become a civilised country according to European notions, even were it to fall to-morrow under the dominion of the French or of the English.

Only look into David Hume, and you will be convinced, that in England under Henry VIII. and even under Elizabeth, the state of things was nearly the same as it is now under Mehemet Ali, and in many respects, for instance in religious intolerance, infinitely worse. Thus we find the system of monopoly, which was one of the chief subjects of complaint, the corruption, and immoralities of the authorities, the reckless despotism of the sovereign (for the parliaments had then no more influence than the Turkish divan), just the same at that time in England as it is now in Egypt.

Yet from these defective beginnings the English have gradually become one of the first, most enlightened and powerful nations in the world; a fact which sufficiently proves, first, that every organic formation, though it may have been called into existence through the impulse given by great individuals, must always have a small, uncertain, and de-

fective commencement, and subsequently, through its own experience, and after many errors, find the right course: secondly, that for this reason, it is in the highest degree absurd to continue to apply to the condition of Egypt the actual standard of Europe, and to require from the civilisation of that country, with respect both to the government and the governed, the same results as from ours.

Let us rather compare the medieval state of Europe with the present condition of Egypt, and then this state of things with that which existed in the country before the time of Mehemet Ali, namely, under the dominion of the Mamelukes. Mehemet Ali's efforts, as long as they were not impeded, indisputably called forth, for the first time, the most important fundamental conditions in the East (of our days), viz., order, security, and a spirit of superior industry. Hereby, in spite of a hundred failings and defects, he has well merited the gratitude of history.—But I return to my Audience.

The last subject of my conversation with Mehemet Ali on this day, was a second favourite topic of the Viceroy—the education of youth; and he described with so much animation what he had already done in this respect, that any one hearing him speak on this subject, and then seeing with his own eyes the beneficial effects which have already resulted in so short a space of time, must be wilfully blind not to perceive that this man has, in the main point, often brought upon himself the appearance of a reckless egotism, only that he might be able to be the benefactor of his people for ages to come; and that at all events he has

taken and still takes, from incompetent hands, he gives back with well intentioned views to an improving population, which is advancing, if slowly, yet surely, to a new and regenerated life. He has certainly neither an overflowing exchequer, nor has he an expensive court; nay, notwithstanding his rapidly increasing revenues, which have become greater than those of the Prussian States, he is often scarcely able to defray the current expenses, because, being always engaged about something new, he lays up little or nothing.* As I have said, he gives as he takes. There is no country where the civil and military officers are half so well paid in proportion as here, so that they can very easily get on without being so regularly paid; which, however, as it is for the most part done with design, and from a petty interest, I consider to be a very bad and impolitic measure. Besides a vast number of manufactories, canals and other great hydraulic constructions, hospitals, schools, and establishments of all kinds, there are at this moment in Cairo and its immediate vicinity, ninety-five public schools in the course of erection, where eleven thousand children and young people, in the progressive establishment, will, with a munificence utterly unknown among us, be clothed, boarded, instructed, nay even PAID, by the Viceroy.

* The *Courrier de Smyrne* says the same thing:—"Mehemet Ali's revenues are in a very bad condition, and he has already spent them for a whole year in advance." If this were true, which it is not, Mehemet Ali must be considered, notwithstanding, as proportionably the richest prince in the world; for where is there a civilised state in Europe which has not spent its revenues—not for one, but for twenty, thirty, nay, even a hundred, years beforehand?

The arrangement of this educational plan, which, in point of the grandeur of the scale on which it is conducted, is unparalleled, is as follows:—In every province there are several primary schools for elementary instruction, where the children, as well as in all the other seminaries belonging to the Viceroy, receive free lodging, board, clothing, and from fifteen to thirty piastres a month. From these they go to the large preparatory schools, one of which is in Cairo, and the other in Alexandria, where their pay is raised to from thirty to fifty piastres.

When they have studied here four years, they enter the upper schools; the polytechnic school at Boulack, that of the foreign languages in Cairo, that of artillery in Toura, that of cavalry in Ghizeh, that of the infantry in Damietta, that of the marines in Alexandria, and that of medicine in Abou-Zabel, in all of which the pay of the scholars varies from 100 to 150 piastres per month.

Many teachers, and the greater number of the present statesmen of Egypt, have issued from these schools, to which an academy of music has been recently added. Independently of this, many individuals are constantly sent to Europe by the Viceroy, to complete their education. Those pupils who wish to be handicraftsmen, and have evinced some dexterity in that line, not only receive from the Viceroy a capital of 12,000 piastres, but he also pays for their whole outfit, including their work-rooms and shops. These may be seen all over the city, and new ones continue to arise every day; and they may be easily distinguished from others by their elegant

appearance, and the solidity with which they are erected. I have already spoken of the extreme generosity with which the Marine is furnished, and of its peculiar institutions of every kind; and I might subjoin very many isolated facts of the same nature.

Thus the Viceroy is just now introducing vaccination; and as the people are opposed to it, he pays the parents one piastre for every child which is vaccinated. The hospitals, too, which are superintended by the indefatigable Clot Bey, though originally destined for the military only, nevertheless receive any patients whatever who request admission, and this without the slightest remuneration, and if there should be no room for them, they are supplied with medicines gratis. The natives, however, have such an extreme aversion to hospitals, that they will seldom make an application to be received into it. "I have always been compelled," said the Viceroy, "either to *force* the people, or to *pay* them for their good."

On taking leave, Mehemet Ali at my request shook hands with me in the European fashion, (which of course is not customary here), but he received my request as cordially as it was made, for he was manifestly pleased with the evident respect with which he had inspired my enthusiastic nature. He added very courteously, that he should very soon set out on a journey for Upper Egypt, and that as he had found that I proposed a similar tour, he would be very happy if I would accompany him; and at the same time, during my stay here, pay him a daily visit at whatever hour and place might be most convenient to myself. After this gracious invitation he dismissed me with

an expression of dignified kindness and conscious greatness, which is as vividly impressed on my remembrance as his courteous words. Although after we became better acquainted, and Mehemet Ali felt confidence in me, and, consequently, my subsequent interviews with him embraced subjects of far deeper interest, yet this first impression remained dominant, and formed the sketch, so to speak, from which his whole form was eventually portrayed.

I believe that it will not be unwelcome to my readers, if I subjoin some extracts from a MS. which was given me of an official report of Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, unquestionably one of the most distinguished men of England, which likewise treats of an audience with Mehemet Ali, a few years anterior to mine, and a most remarkable document it is. Sir John Malcolm thus begins:—

"I will now attempt to repeat what passed between Mehemet Ali and myself on this occasion.

"'You have been in Egypt before,' said the Pasha, 'and from what happened at that time, and the communications which have since taken place between us, I consider you in the light of an old friend. No one will be better able than yourself, to judge how far I have persevered in pursuing my plans, with which you are well acquainted, and how far I have been able to carry them into execution. *Your* accurate knowledge of India, Arabia, and Persia, and of the spirit of those countries, makes you more capable than others, of judging of what has been done in Egypt; and at the same time you will judge accordingly how far the present state of Egypt makes it

worthy of a political connection with England. Now, an event of no small importance seems to be pending in the East, and I wish to communicate to you my views on the subject; I shall do so with entire confidence as to a friend, and I hope that you, though not now here in any official capacity, will take an opportunity of communicating this to the British cabinet.'

"I replied to the Pasha, that since he knew that I did not at this moment fill any public office, and he was yet desirous merely from motives of the friendship with which he honoured me, to make these communications, I would indeed readily comply with his wishes; but I could promise no more than that, if my opinion were asked, I would give it sincerely, though I could not answer that it would be approved.

"'Your government,' replied Mehemet Ali, 'in all its negotiations with me, betrays much coolness, not to say indifference, while I am doing everything to please it. This is a remarkable contrast with the conduct of France, which embraces even the most trifling occasions to express its wishes, and to gain me over by the most flattering attention.'

"'This difference,' said I, 'arose more from the construction of our administration, than from want of friendship, or from neglect of his Highness. That our character was, besides, quite the reverse of the French; and if we did not, like them, watch for every favourable opportunity to make ourselves agreeable to him, I was nevertheless convinced that, *in all important cases, he would find that we were as sincere, and far more useful friends to him than the French.*'" (Sic!)

"'Well, I will believe it,' continued the Pasha: 'but if I wish for a change, in the want of warmth towards me on the part of England, it is for other reasons than my personal gratification; I wish also to be favoured, in the eyes of the world, by a nation *on which I well know that I am entirely dependent* in everything that relates to the prosperity of my country, and the success of my present and future plans; but I also believe that these wholly coincide with the real interests of England. Before, however, I continue to open my whole heart to you, I must go back for a moment to what has lately happened.'

"He then detailed to me the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Cradock, and the negotiations of Mr. Barker, to induce him to join in the conquest of Algiers; his refusal; the satisfaction of the English ministers with the free and frank statement of his mode of action, and the motives by which he was guided.

"'I fear,' he continued, 'that the dissolution of the Turkish empire, sooner or later, is unavoidable. My intention is to form a line, behind which those who are of my religion, and do not wish to bear the yoke of Russia, may unite; and which may be attained by my extending my authority over all Syria, and advancing to the frontiers of Persia. This may appear to you to be a fantastic plan; but I have the means, (and can create those which may still be wanting,) which are sufficient to ensure success. My possession of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the consideration which I already enjoy in Arabia, will promote this plan in an extra-

ordinary degree; and I hope that it will be seen in Constantinople itself, in a right point of view, since, in fact, the Ottoman empire can be only strengthened by it. I do not despair of being able to make the Sultan sensible of this, in a friendly manner; as he must at length see that, with the present state of things, this wretched, jealous policy, which has so long ruined all the provinces of the Turkish empire, by a continual succession of new governors and new insurrections, must be given up.

"'All I want, all I wish is, that England may assure me of its friendship; that my mind may be set at ease, in order that I may positively know, that, while I withdraw from the other Christian states, I may have no hostility to dread from that nation, whose true interests, I am convinced, fully coincide with the plans which I have already executed, and propose to execute in future. England must wish that Egypt shall remain undisturbed as it now is; first, on account of its near communication with India; and secondly, that there may be barriers which cannot be very easily broken down, against the advance of Russia in Asia. The Turkish and the Persian thrones are both threatened from that side; more efficacious means are necessary than either of those sovereigns possess, to arrest that deluge of conquest, and you may judge from what you have seen whether I am the man to effect it.

"'I know,' he continued, 'that the policy of England acts upon the principle of non-intervention; but I ask for neither money, nor auxiliary troops, nor engagements. I ask only the assurance of the friend-

ship of England, and of its *sincere* sentiments, and these are essential; for I feel that I am paralysed till I can depend with *full confidence* on your country, as one that sees with pleasure the increase of my power, because it is convinced that this power goes hand in hand with the reform and civilisation of a part of the globe which has hitherto been the theatre of prejudice, ignorance, and barbarism.'"

Not to be wearisome, I pass over many parts of the conference, which lasted a long time, the contents of which are of less importance, and merely tend to elucidate what has already been stated.

At the conclusion of the audience, Sir John again assured the Pasha that he would accurately communicate to the English ministry, not only what he had heard but what he had seen.

"Do so," replied Mehemet Ali; "*and make your report freely and truly as you believe that I deserve.* Your life has been spent in intercourse with Eastern princes, and more employed in Asia than in Europe. You were ambassador and governor; you came to Egypt ten years ago, and saw everything as it was. I then communicated my plans to you; you have now returned, and are yourself the best judge whether I have kept my word. Say nothing but the truth, and nothing but what you judge to be agreeable to the sound policy of your country."

I pass over all the flattering remarks which Sir John makes respecting Mehemet Ali as superfluous. In this conversation Mehemet Ali speaks for himself, and I leave the reader to judge which was the more noble-minded man, which the greater politician—

Mehemet Ali, who afterwards fell, or Lord Palmerston, who crushed him with the power of England.

I, too, found the Viceroy full of confidence in England, and inspired with the ardent hope of enjoying its favour, although he already began to incline to the French side. Since then he must often have thought how I warned him to hope neither for the friendship of England, nor to trust to the faithfulness of France; in one respect, however, I must confess that I was mistaken, inasmuch as I thought that the Austrian policy was most inclined towards him, as it appeared to be only compatible with the interests of that state, if a powerful empire were founded in Asia, as the commercial intercourse of Austria with Egypt and Syria was on the increase, and in this respect, therefore, no private interests would clash with those of Mehemet Ali. I, however deemed that the principles of a chivalrous legitimacy were still less applicable to the East than to Greece where there never was any question about them. The burden of my song was to tell Mehemet Ali, "our first rule of right in Europe is, *beati possidentes!*" It was only necessary to be victorious, and take firm possession, and friend and foe would acknowledge his undoubted right. And this would unquestionably have been the case, if he had not twice failed in making use of his victories, and, if subsequently, as well as formerly, he had *negotiated* less with European powers.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CITY. — THE CASTLE.

AFTER the audience, I rode to the city, through other parts of the beautiful promenades, at the termination of which—where they are not yet completed—we still see in parts the chaotic heaps of ruins, rubbish, and the like, which formerly covered the whole area of these extensive plantations.

Shortly after reaching the causeway, which is bordered by an avenue leading in a direct line from Boulak to Cairo, we passed the western gate of Bal el Guenéné, and entered the celebrated Esbeykeh Square, which has lately undergone as many alterations as its environs, which I have already described. It was formerly inundated by the Nile during a part of the year, by which all passage by land was impeded. All this has undergone a complete change. The whole surface of the square, which is, perhaps, half a leagu in circumference, has been inclosed in a regular dyke, which, during the inundation, forms a large lake; but in the remainder of the year incloses a verdant clover-field, and, being planted with trees, forms a shady promenade. On the outside of the dyke there is a canal, twenty feet broad, which runs all round and communicates by sluices with the lake, into which it conducts water, and divides the dyke from the street round the square.

This street is 100 feet in breadth, and is bounded on the outer side by houses, and on the inner side by rows of acacias. Under this cool avenue you may at any time enjoy an agreeable prospect over the surface of the lake, and, when that has disappeared, over the verdant carpet which covers its bed. The Esbeykeh Square is surrounded on three sides by handsome palaces in the oriental style, several of which are historically interesting; and the fourth side is occupied by a row of lofty and gloomy, yet picturesque wooden houses, belonging to the Copts.

Of the palaces, I must first mention that which was inhabited by Napoleon, and which is still in good condition; next I was particularly interested by that where Kléber had his head-quarters, and in the garden of which that brave native of Alsace was murdered by the fanatic Soliman. A woman belonging to the next house betrayed the murderer to the soldiers who were in search of him. He had descended in a sakyeh close to the scene of his crime, where the French would probably never have sought him but for the information given them.

Soliman undertook the murder of Kléber in order to obtain the release of his father, who was a prisoner, and whose liberty the Pasha of Damascus had promised for this price. This man was so exalted in his fanaticism, that even when placed at the stake, and shortly before his death, he spat, with a look of contempt, when M. Bokti, now the Prussian consul at Cairo, who himself related the circumstance to me, approached him with another Frank.

The palace of Kléber is now occupied by the

Minister of Public Instruction; but the garden belongs to the splendid palace of his Highness's daughter —the widow of the notorious Defterdar, whose unparalleled cruelties are still fresh in the remembrance of both foreigners and natives at Cairo.

At first I took many things for fables, invented by ill-will, until the most incredible facts were confirmed to me, by the most respectable and impartial eye-witnesses. Doubtless there are tiger-like, not to say satanic, dispositions, as well as lamb-like characters. No one ever exposed his own nature with more *naïveté* than did the Defterdar. In the course of conversation with the French consul, he once complained of the invincible obstinacy of the Bedouins. "Only think," said he, "what lately happened to me! Two of these fellows boasted to me of their father, and called him a bull. 'Well,' said I, 'if your father was a bull, your mother must have been a cow;' and, would you believe it? I could not make these obstinate rascals agree to this very plain argument. Nothing could bend their obstinacy.

"To make them a little more compliant, I gave orders in the first place to cut off their right hands, and again put the question to them. As this did not avail, I ordered the left hand, and then one foot, and then the other, to be cut off; and the villains still persisted that their father was a bull, but that their mother was not a cow. At length I lost all patience, and caused what remained of them to be thrown into the Nile, where, till they sank, they insolently exclaimed, with their last breath, '*not a cow!—not a cow!*'"

Other anecdotes of this monster, equally cruel

and, unhappily, equally true, are related in many books of travels. This Defterdar was notwithstanding, as everybody affirms, a man of very noble carriage and great dignity of manner; full of bravery and prudence, and so well informed for a Turk, that we are indebted to him for a, not wholly incorrect, map of Senaar, which he took by actual survey, and drew, during his vengeful campaign to punish the murderers of Ismael at Shendy. He was generally found accompanied by a tame lion and tiger, and used to be much amused by the dread evinced by the Europeans at such an extraordinary sight.

Sometimes he set the animals against each other, which on one occasion caused the death of one of his Mamelukes, whom he ordered to separate them. The Viceroy endeavoured to make his son-in-law's savage disposition as harmless as possible; but the effects of the civilisation just commenced by Mehemet Ali had at that time made but little progress. In nearly every respect, however, things went on as before. The Defterdar was too powerful and influential, and Mehemet Ali was too deeply indebted to him, to be able to use vigorous measures towards him. In the present state of things, this would soon have been remedied; and a report was long in circulation, that Mehemet Ali had caused the Defterdar to be secretly executed for his intolerable cruelties.

Important recollections are attached to two other palaces: the first of which belongs to Khosref Pasha, the mortal enemy of Mehemet Ali; and the other, which is now converted into a lazaretto, was inhabited by the Viceroy himself, when he was far from having

attained his present power. It was here that Mehemet Ali, who at that time held only the post of commander-in-chief in the army, tired of his unquiet position, which was daily rendered more harassing by an accumulation of fresh dangers which oppressed him like threatening thunder-clouds—or, perhaps, he only pretended to be weary of it—declared to his faithful adherents that he had resolved voluntarily to leave to Khosref Pasha the government of Egypt, and to retire, far from all political influence, to private life. For many days together his friends, especially the Albanians and the Arnauts, formally urged him to renounce this intention, doubly incensed against Khosref Pasha, because the latter had, with very bad policy, withheld part of the pay from them, while he spread among them the report that Mehemet Ali had already received it, and intended to keep it for himself; the contrary to which, however, Mehemet Ali easily proved to the troops, by sending for the Defterdar (paymaster). After he had long suffered them to entreat him to act with more energy, Mehemet Ali at length exclaimed, leaping from his seat, and drawing his sabre, "Well, I will comply with your wish; but swear here, on this weapon, that you blindly promise to do whatever I shall command; and that none of you will abandon me while I live, happen what may."

All enthusiastically took the oath required; and in the same night Mehemet Ali, with a few hundred men, boldly attacked Khosref Pasha in his own palace, who, seized with panic-terror, escaped through

his garden, and fled to Damietta to claim the assistance of Khourshid Pasha.

In this engagement Mehemet Ali personally exposed himself to the greatest danger; two balls passed through his clothes, and several of his enemies fell by his own hand.

As I received these and the following details from the Viceroy's own mouth, in the presence of many witnesses, they may thereby, perhaps, be more interesting to the public, though I can here give, as it were, only the skeleton of that which was full of life and spirit, in the long and very detailed narrative communicated by Mehemet Ali.

A certain Tahir Pasha, who commanded the city and citadel, joined the victor; but two days afterwards he was murdered in consequence, during an insurrection of his own troops, who entertained other sentiments—a piece of intelligence which spread such consternation among Mehemet Ali's adherents, that many abandoned him, and even his most faithful partisan and countryman, Soliman Aga, declared to him that he saw no hope left, and therefore advised that they both should flee to Albania. "I shall not stir from this place," said Mehemet Ali; "but I will not keep you;—recollect, however, that, perhaps, when you arrive in our native country, it may do you no honour to have forsaken your friend and countryman in the hour of danger." Soliman Aga felt ashamed; gave him his hand and remained.

Mehemet Ali now assembled the troops who had remained faithful. "Let him among you," he ex-

claimed, "who wavers in his confidence in me depart at once; but let me tell you that you are grossly mistaken if you suffer yourselves to be discouraged by Tahir Pasha's death. He was of little moment. I am your real chief; and so long as I am not wanting to you, you have nothing to fear." When these energetic words had in some degree raised the courage ofthe intimidated men, he divided them into two bodies, under his own and Soliman Aga's command; committed to the latter the half of the little ammunition that he had still left, and marched against the rebels. Partly by his sword, and partly by persuasion, he soon became master of the city and citadel after a severe engagement. But scarcely had this storm happily passed over, when an envoy of Khourshid Pasha came from Damietta, to summon Mehemet Ali to that town, to account for what had happened. Mehemet Ali returned for answer, that he would appear immediately, and bring all his accomplices with him. The envoy ventured only to deliver the first part of the answer; but when the Pasha, who was astonished at this readiness, insisted on hearing the exact truth, and thus learnt the second part of the reply, he was seized with such panic—and the more so because the Mamelukes, with whom Mehemet Ali was at that time on terms of friendship, had just obtained as great a victory over the Turks—that he immediately sent back his envoy with rich presents, to assure Mehemet Ali that he had entirely misunderstood him; that he should henceforth consider himself as his son, and might always depend on his protection and most devoted friendship; that he, the Pasha himself,

would very shortly come to Cairo, and there, in conjunction with Mehemet Ali, would set everything in order according to his wishes.

The crafty partisan received the Pasha with the highest honours, caused him to be proclaimed as the faithful Governor for the Porte in Khosref-Pasha's room, gave up to him the city and the citadel, and quietly retired to his palace of Esbekyeh, but without dismissing a single man of his troops. Khourshid Pasha, for whom it was of the utmost importance to get rid of such a dangerous protector, promised to use all his influence for him in Constantinople; and left to him, in a manner, the choice of any Pashalic in the empire that might suit him.

But Mehemet Ali turned a deaf ear to all these promises, and it was not long before the relations between the two rivals were overclouded, and ended in the violent expulsion of Khourshid Pasha. Being pursued by Mehemet Ali, he was at length compelled to quit the field altogether, and to embark with Khosref Pasha for Constantinople. The Porte, as usual, putting a good face upon a bad game, found it most advisable definitively to give to Mehemet Ali, by its official firman, what was in fact already in his power, and appointed him Viceroy of Egypt. Thus, from that time he had no further rivals, except the Mameluke Beys, who in the sequel, as we are well aware, were all overthrown in another more tragical catastrophe.

Even the many years' attempts to ruin him made by Khosref Pasha, who was all-powerful at Constantinople, only tended to raise Mehemet Ali still higher, till he

has lived to see the removal and the disgrace of his old enemy at the court of Constantinople, which it is true was soon followed by his own humiliation. Yet he has always remained of good courage, considering himself as one of the men who is protected by Allah, and he has often expressed himself with proud confidence to this effect.

I roamed for many hours about the streets of the interminable city, and cannot better describe my feelings than by saying, it always seemed to me as if I were reading the "Arabian Nights;" or, rather, as if their gay scenes were placed in living pictures before me. No traveller, in my opinion, has drawn a more faithful picture of Cairo in a few pages than M. Von Prokesch, which I can warrant to be the most faithful portrait, and to which I can add but very little.

Cairo is not in any respect to be compared with any of the oriental cities that I have yet seen. It bears only the impress of its own stamp; but this is in the highest degree grand, and for him who has any vein of romance in his composition, truly seducing and attractive, in spite of all its defects, disorders, and inconveniences. There was much that awakened lively recollections of our own middle ages. The many half-fortified castles, in a heavy, motley style of architecture, have quite a feudal appearance. Thus, too, the richly-ornamented fountains, the narrow, irregular streets, with lofty overhanging houses, covered with balconies and latticed windows, as in the oldest cities of Europe, reminded us of former times; but above all, the many inexpressibly-fine mosques in

the ancient Arabian style, with their lofty minarets, their pointed and arched windows, their colossal masses, and the wonderful richness of their innumerable ornaments *à jour*, strikingly resembling our Gothic churches, represent to us at once the West and the East, the heroic ages of the Crusaders, as well as those of the Crescent. Since I have seen this style of architecture, I am more and more confirmed in my opinion, that like many other misnomers in Europe, what we call the Gothic style is derived only from the Arab-Moorish; or, at least, that both have their origin from one and the same source, although they may have varied materially in their development in the different quarters of the world.

Thus, singularly enough, my first impressions in these fancy-existing scenes were such, that they *instanter* placed before me images of adventurous chivalry; of a rude but genuine piety, and of a fantastic but genial direction of art; a by-gone age of violence, which was nevertheless more deeply imbued than our times with good as well as with evil. The pure oriental addition to such European impressions, was soon furnished by a hundred other objects: for instance, the shady bazars, fifty feet in height, with a covering of painted wood or linen, which is attached to a mosque or to the parapets of a palace, crowded with the most splendid productions of Asia and Africa, which are perfumed with all the spices of Arabia; the dignity and composure of the Mussulmans in the midst of all this bustle, which exceeds that of the most populous city in Europe—and how striking is the diversity of groups which animate these scenes!

Here we see a company of horsemen, heedlessly forcing their way between the shops and the workmen, who are plying their trade in the open streets, their steeds richly caparisoned in trappings embroidered with gold, with riders in highly picturesque and splendid dresses. There, again, is a harem who are hastening to the bath, the females closely enveloped in black garments, with white linen masks, which leave only the sparkling black eyes uncovered, and who glide noiselessly along on their swift asses, as though they were phantoms. Then follow interminable rows of camels, which every now and then completely block up the way, so that there is often a good squeeze before the pedestrian can make his way among them; it is a never-ending, ever-changing bustle, of men of every complexion and dress on the face of the earth—from the most closely-enshrouded Oriental to the completely denuded child of nature—from the woolly-haired Negro of Africa, the fire-worshipping Parsee, and the ultra-marine modern American, down to the London dandy, whose species, to judge by the sample we met to-day, with red hair and bushy whiskers, has a closer affinity to the tribe of apes than any of the other numerous races that we encountered here. Suddenly a European carriage, with a Greek coachman, driving six in hand, flew like lightning through the densely-crowded street. It unfolded its shining length like a boa-constrictor; the people made way as if by magic, and in the twinkling of an eye it had disappeared round the corner. It was the daughter of the Viceroy, who was driving to the Citadel.

The castles of the ancient Mameluke Beys, in the

heart of the city, with the streets of which] they communicate by a broad and nearly always closed *porte cochère*, generally possess gardens and courts within the walls, and some of them still retain much of their ancient splendour. Nevertheless, I know a foreigner who has hired one of these palaces, which is in the best possible condition, for 25 years, for which he pays only 30 piastres a month (about 5*s*.). In the miserable hotels, however, which have been established by Europeans, the charges are quite exorbitant: indeed, it is notorious and lamentable that, in the East, the stranger must be chiefly on his guard in his transactions with European and Greek Christians, less so with Jews, and least of all with Mussulmans, who are unquestionably the most honest and the most solid of the whole population.

After I had visited the stud of the Viceroy, which is just as *médiocre* as that of the otherwise luxurious Governor of Candia, where the horses are not in the least better tended, though each of them has its own seïs—I rode to the Castle, which is generally called the Citadel, and which is erected at the end of the city, close to the Mokkatam. The greater part of this fortress is occupied by the Governor, who has fortified it very strongly towards Cairo, in which position alone it can be available, and has planted a very imposing row of cannon all along the wall.

At its southern extremity, the Viceroy is now erecting a mosque, just opposite to the ruined Saladin mosque, which in some respects will be the most superb edifice in the world; for not only are all the columns made of massive, polished alabaster, but even

the inner and outer walls are completely covered with this costly material, which has hitherto been employed only in making vases, watch-stands, and little knick-knacks of that kind; and I should not be in the least surprised if the entire quarry of Sheh Abade were to be exhausted in the creation of this temple.* The effect of the whole is quite astonishing; but it is very much apprehended that this delicate stone will not be able to withstand the effects of the climate. It would have been more judicious to have built it of granite; but to have it well cemented in this material it would be necessary to call up the shades of the ancient Egyptians: the moderns are incapable of such stupendous works.

I ascended the yet unfinished walls of the mosque, that I might select the most advantageous position for overlooking the renowned view, which extends over "the sea of the world," its hundreds of minarets and domes, its innumerable mosques and palaces, backed by the lofty pyramids of Ghizeh, Dashour, and Sakkarah. In the midst of this sublime landscape flows the majestic Nile, bordered by the richest green; and in the Delta, in the north, seems to lose itself in immensity; while the golden sand of the illimitable Desert hems in the verdant vegetation in decided lines.

Immediately below, the most incomparable foreground is formed, by that gem of all the buildings of Cairo, the Mosque of the Sultan Hassan, which is scarcely surpassed by any Gothic temple in Europe.

* According to Lepsius, a new alabaster quarry has been discovered at Siout.

Close to this, a motley crowd is always assembled on the Roumelia Square, where the public executions take place; while innumerable details throughout the whole extent of the city unfold themselves on every side. At the left extremity of this mass of houses, we see in the south the Aqueduct of Saladin, which issues from the Nile between Cairo and Fostat, and conducts its waters to Joseph's Well, when the eye, almost fatigued with the "sameness of splendour" of this transcendent scenery, turns to the right, and rests upon the complete town formed by the Tombs of the Chaliphs.

I have since climbed to the highest point of the Mokkatam, where, it is true, a much greater extent of *terrain* may be overlooked; but as from thence the Citadel intercepts the view of the greater part of the busy, bustling town, the scene from that spot loses half its attraction. The happy moment for beholding its beauty in all its fulness is shortly after the rising of the sun, when its rays surround the Pyramids as with a golden nimbus, and when, notwithstanding their considerable distance, these colossi appear to approach so closely, that the Sphinx which stands in front of them can be clearly distinguished with only the additional aid of an opera-glass.

The Mosque of Sal Eddin (Saladin) is also a fine building, wrought in massive materials, crowned with a dome, which has now fallen in (for the Turks have no notion of repairs), and ornamented by a very lofty minaret, which is inlaid with coloured glazed tiles, many of which are still in good preservation. The interior, where the paintings and gildings are actually

peeling off, is now used as a dirty magazine. In front of this mosque, and facing the town, stood the palace of Saladin. To judge by its remains, it must have been erected on a very grand scale, and ancient Egyptian granite columns were introduced, most of which are lying prostrate and broken in the sand. On the under side of one of their loosened, antique capitals, I found hieroglyphics of the most ancient style, and which incontestably prove that, even at that time, when the later Pharaohs were erecting the columns, stones of a yet more remote period, and which had been employed in other buildings, were used. Immediately behind the mosque, on the declivity of the Mokkatam, is the so-called Joseph's Well, the origin of which is unknown; but the Arabs maintain that it was made by Saladin, who was also called Youssuf.

A telegraph has lately been erected by Mehemet Ali close to this mosque, on one of the towers of the palace of Saladin, and which seemed to me to gaze down full of astonishment, from its ancient elevation, upon the modern creations below. I should assuredly have thought that it was a ghost, if at this moment it had begun to manœuvre. The well, which is 42 feet in circumference, and 280 in depth, is a great work, and is quite original, inasmuch as it is surrounded on all sides by a gallery, hewn in the solid rock, which gradually slopes down to the bottom, and the walls of which, between the rock and the well, are scarcely an inch and a half in thickness, and actually look as if they were made of pasteboard.

After leaving this Citadel, and descending to the Square of Roumelia, I passed through the celebrated

rocky street in which the Mamelukes met their deserved, but nevertheless awfully fearful death. There the whole of that tragic scene comes before one in the most lively colours. Let the reader picture to himself a long winding passage, inclosed on both side by rocks, crowned with lofty walls and houses, and, paved with smooth stones, sloping down the declivity of the hill. The gates at either end have already closed in the unsuspecting Beys—above 100 in number—who, mounted on their fiery steeds, are seen crowded together along the narrow path. All are attired in their festive martial dress, and ride along in high spirits, without the least foreboding of what awaits them; while every terrace, every rocky projection, and the galleries of the upper houses, are lined with armed soldiers, as if in demonstration of respect, ready to give the salute of honour.

At this very moment, each of these proud Beys may, perhaps, be dwelling with delight on the treachery which he himself is meditating, or revelling beforehand in the inevitable fall of his secure foe; and, as if struck with blindness, none seems to doubt his own safety. Suddenly, every weapon is levelled against the gilded, glittering host, and a shower of musketry is poured down upon them from above. The very first discharge must convince the Beys of their utterly desperate and hopeless state; neither flight nor resistance, nor revenge, is possible! The tumult of the unhorsed riders, the madness of the wounded steeds, the frenzy and curses of the dying, the incessant, irresistible, and cold-blooded slaughter, the overwhelming sight of so many princes, the arrogant

ords of the land, whose frown would yesterday have made a stout heart tremble, now suddenly despoiled of their glory and pomp, weltering in their blood, and writhing under the hoofs of their own battle-horses, breathing their last amid the jeers of the low, heartless, Albanians; and, even in death, firmly grasping their faithful weapon — a cruel mockery in their defenceless hand. Truly it must have been a scene of awful and terrific aspect!

Near the place of this bold deed, the Viceroy has since built his arsenal, a cannon foundry, and a manufactory of small-arms, where some of the machines employed have been made in Cairo itself. The establishment furnishes, on an average, two or three guns in a week, and 20,000 muskets in a year, which are all of very good quality; but I thought the muskets rather too heavy, and the locks were very stiff.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GARDENS OF SHOUBRA—AN ALMEH—SOCIAL EVENING.

It will scarcely be believed in Europe, that the necessary visits, and other duties of society, took up half my time at Cairo, as completely as in a European capital. The gentlemen whom the Viceroy had appointed to attend me, urged me to give frequent dinners; which, when Baki Bey himself was present, reminded me of the time when the French were in Germany, when so many a Prussian land-owner had daily the honour, in his own house, and at the table provided at his own expense, to be the guest of the foreign Marshal or General, who, for the time being, played the part of his host.

I was, however, indebted for more than one interesting acquaintance to these social festivities. Among these are Mr. Saurin, the Austrian Consul-General, a well-known lover of the fine arts, and a most delightful companion; and Mr. Champion, the Austrian Consul, both of whom loaded me with kindness, and deserve my most grateful acknowledgments; the Russian Consul-General, Colonel Duhamel, an able diplomatist, who speaks all the current languages of Europe, and is versed in every branch of knowledge; Mr. Bokti, the Prussian Consul,—a real dictionary of all the details of modern Egypt, from

the arrival of the French down to the present day; Captain Cavillia, who is acquainted with every discovery relative to the antiquities of Egypt; Mr. Lambert, the St. Simonian, who is most profoundly versed in the doctrines of "the Father," who has unfortunately already left; and, lastly, our excellent Schubert, whom I was so happy as to meet in this distant country, and who is a man—I had almost said, so imposing, though so humble-minded,—to whose mild, evangelic spirit, we readily yield affectionate homage; and many others, with whom I subsequently often came in contact, for which reason I will not mention them more particularly in this place; and will also pass over, as is reasonable, all who were tedious and uninteresting,—for, alas! there are some gigantic bores in Cairo, as well as among ourselves.

Requesting my readers to accompany me to the Gardens of Shoubra, I must again, on account of the tiresome critics, beg them to observe that I am not a book-maker by profession; and that, consequently, they must never expect a systematic arrangement of my materials. I relate what I have a mind to relate, how and when it comes into my mind. Whoever thinks this wearisome, may seek better amusement elsewhere, which he will have no difficulty in finding.

Shoubra, which is a country-seat of the Viceroy's, and where he usually resides, has surprised me no less, than the many other new creations of Mehemet Ali, for hitherto I had never seen an oriental garden which was more than a better kind of kitchen garden and orchard, and betokened an invariable inattention

to elegance and cleanliness. Here I found a garden which George IV. would have been delighted to have had at Virginia Water, and which his English gardeners could not have made more elegant, or kept in better order. Such admirable arrangement and care produce a doubly agreeable impression in the East—the land of dirt and decay; and to this must be added the pleasing sensation experienced by a son of the North, at finding himself at the end of January, in the open air, surrounded by an uninterrupted parterre of flowers, which alone covers from 12 to 15 acres of ground. And what a noble road, likewise a work of Mehemet Ali, is that which leads from Cairo to this garden!

I first rode half a league through the plantations of Ibrahim, which I have already described, and then came to a clover-field, the brilliant verdure of which cannot be surpassed by our most luxuriant meadows. A very closely-planted avenue, which has not a single break for the extent of a whole league, traverses these fields. This avenue, consisting of evergreen sycamores, and of a dark-leaved species of acacia (which loses its leaves for a few weeks only in the hottest season of the year), form with their spreading crowns a continued arcade, from thirty to forty feet high, wholly impervious to the rays of the sun, and which is only cleared between the trunks of the trees, just high enough to afford continued change of the most charming prospect; for, on the left, the Nile flows at a short distance, now broken by islands, and now with its bright mirror glistening in the sun for a quarter of a mile together.

The banks on this side are ornamented with country-seats of the great men, or manufactories, looking like palaces, lying detached in gardens and fields; while the opposite banks display in front of the gently undulating line of hills of the Desert, palm-groves, or villages, surrounded with the richest vegetation, which lie scattered like choice bouquets on the golden sand. The whole has an idyllic appearance, except that in the back-ground, the eternal summits of the Pyramids, majestically commanding the entire scene, rise mysteriously above the palmy groves.

On the right hand of the road, at a shorter distance, are the smooth sand-hills of the other side of the Desert, driven together by the wind, and frequently changing their form, but set with a broad border of olive and fruit plantations, which lies before them, and in which there are many isolated, pretty dwellings. The Desert appears, on this side also, in its romantic, and by no means desolate character. The figures that animate the landscape are, during the whole day, as full of life and character as can be desired; for, just as in the city, you are constantly surrounded by a motley crowd of men and animals which exhibit every peculiarity of the country. Often while I was amusing myself with the view of this unbroken series of foreign images, and then cast my eyes on the lofty, cool, leafy roof above me, which seemed to me to belong much more to the north than to the south, I could fancy that I was still in Europe, and was only looking at a painted diorama of Egypt from an avenue in the Prata of Vienna, or the Park at Berlin.

Thus, almost imperceptibly, I reached Shoubra;

and, after passing a handsome fountain of white stone, alighted from my horse at a pavilion of lattice-work, covered with blue-flowering creepers as with a thick tapestry. Passing through a long shady passage of similar trellis-work, covered with the same kind of climbers, I came to a painted kiosk, in front of which there is a regular parterre of flowers in very tastefully-arranged beds.

The beds, which contain tulips, geraniums, and roses, are bordered with myrtles, and other fragrant plants, cut short; and young citron-trees are so ingeniously trained and cut, that they form the most graceful arcades with pendent festoons, bending sometimes at the side, and sometimes across the path, with their flowers and fruits; while the walk itself, which is paved with coloured sea-pebbles, looks like a mosaic of elegant arabesques.

This romantic garden is succeeded by several others, which are separated by dark masses of cypress and lofty walnut-trees, all differing in character and decoration, and interspersed with fountains, couches, flowery pyramids, vases, and pavilions, richly ornamented and gilt. In one orange-grove, laden with golden fruit and snowy flowers, the whole ground was covered, as with a carpet, of narcissus and *tacettes*, the perfume of which was almost overpowering. I next came to a lake with splendid marble baths, the water of which was ejected from the mouths of crocodiles. Beyond it is a wilderness, surrounded by an extremely elegant bamboo fence, where many of the rarest animals have ample space to roam about at will. I remarked, among these, the very singular antelope

from Darfour, which, though the very smallest species, has the complete shape of a buffalo with a fine hump. It is an Addar, as a naturalist informs me, the *Strepsiceros* of Pliny.

The beautiful antelope which often recurs on the Egyptian monuments, called by the Arabs Abon-Harb, Father of the Whites (the *Oryx* of the ancients), was likewise roaming in this wilderness. As a particular curiosity from England, we were afterwards shown, in a separate division, a common northern bear, which is as interesting here as a giraffe among us.

The head gardener, a Greek from Chios, invited me to rest, after my long ride, in one of the kiosks, which I gratefully accepted. I found the Turkish summer-house fitted up with much elegance, entirely in the European taste; and, among other articles of furniture, was a London patent arm-chair—that luxurious piece of furniture, the inventor of which is worthy of being immortalised in Westminster Abbey!

I had scarcely stretched myself upon it, in voluptuous ease, when some black slaves came in, bearing ornamental palm-leaf baskets from Senaar, full of delicious fruits, of which the garden of Shoubra produces such abundance, both in winter and summer, that the entire households of Mehemet and his harem are supplied from it; and when the Viceroy is on a journey, a fresh stock is sent to him every day. Mehemet Ali is a great friend to fruit, and, like Frederick the Great, is particularly fond of cherries—which, however, do not now thrive here, and must be procured from Candia; and that fine steamer, the "Nile," has

seldom any other employment than that of fetching them from Candia, preserved with abundance of ice.

The fruit which, in my opinion, most distinguishes Shoubra, is a peculiar species of orange, the pulp of which is of the most beautiful crimson, and which, though perhaps derived from the red oranges of Malta and Portugal, surpasses them as much by the beauty of its colour, which shines even through the peel, as by its aromatic smell and taste.

The mansion forms a remarkable contrast to this princely garden; for, in Europe, it would scarcely satisfy the pretensions of a rich country gentleman. It is another proof of the simple taste of the Viceroy, that he resides in it the greater part of the year.

As I had still some time at my command, I went on for about a league further, to see the Greek stud, which, in fact, looks like a little town, and which the Viceroy, with his usual munificence, employs M. Hammont, a skilful veterinary surgeon, to form in the midst of a boundless plain.

This, however, is so ample a subject, that I must reserve it for a separate essay: I will therefore content myself with one observation, which here again occurred to my mind. It always appeared to me to be a remarkable circumstance, that, though the Viceroy formerly willingly listened to strangers of all nations, and encouraged them in every way to serve him (I say formerly, for he is now beginning, to his no small detriment, to be persuaded by the half-civilised Turks about him to follow a very different system), yet, with very few exceptions, which I shall specify in the sequel, none but Frenchmen have been

of essential service to him and to Egypt. In this respect, it may with great truth be said, that next to his own comprehensive genius, he owes the existence of his navy entirely to the two Frenchmen, Cerisy and Besson, as well as the organisation of his army to Soliman Pasha (Sève), without whom, the issue of the war with the Porte might have been very doubtful. All the sanitary establishments in his dominions were founded by Clot, a physician of Marseilles, now Clot Bey, with the rank of general, who has likewise had the greatest influence on all the schools and the civilisation of Egypt, during his long and influential residence in the country.

This ingenious and benevolent man has only one fault—that of being too hasty, and too precipitate in siding with or against a party; and this precipitation, as well as an occasionally too restless and indiscriminate activity, which would interfere with everything, weakens his own powers. Colonel Warin, one of the most respectable characters in Egypt, has the great merit of being the chief instrument in the special instruction of the cavalry, the officers of which are almost exclusively natives, educated in his school. The reader may have learnt, from my description of Candia, how highly indebted Mehemet Ali is to the beneficial labours in that island of another distinguished Frenchman, M. Caporal; and that if Candia is admirably governed, and, without doubt, better than any other province of the Egyptian domains, this is mainly owing to the influence of that able man, under the good sense of Mustapha Pasha, who has constantly followed his wise counsels.

M. Linant is also on the list of distinguished Frenchmen of the first rank in the service of the Pasha, for there are many in inferior situations who are useful to him. He has already done much for the civilisation of the country, but if he succeeds in accomplishing the gigantic project on which he has been engaged for many years, and for which he has himself prepared all the plans, drawings, and estimates —namely, erecting a dam in the Nile at the entrance of the Delta—an enterprise, the effects of which will be incalculable on the prosperity and wealth of Egypt—his name will deserve to be placed above all others in the list of the benefactors of the country who have come from foreign parts.

The revival of the improvement of the breed of horses in Egypt, as well as many of the most judicious arrangements for promoting the breeding of cattle in general, and the organisation of the veterinary service for this purpose, even to the most distant province of Senaar, are also the work of a Frenchman, M. Hammont, of whom I have already spoken, and who, notwithstanding, was very nearly in danger, in the midst of his beneficent career, of falling a victim to the intrigues of one of the most incapable favourites of the Viceroy, called Muktar Bey—one of those Turks educated in Europe, who have learnt nothing there, save adding our vices to their own; and who, having sprung up like mushrooms in the sunshine of Mehemet Ali's favour, are impelled by stupidity, and puffed up by arrogance, and daily endeavour to persuade the Viceroy that he has no more need of foreigners, because the Turks now know everything

which, in former times, was perhaps to be learned from them. Mehemet Ali must not be too much blamed if, misled, perhaps, by the consciousness of his own power and by what he has achieved, he is sometimes disposed to entertain this view; for with all his great qualities, he is still in the main a Turk; and, besides, has been so often and so scandalously deceived, and has been so frequently treated with base ingratitude by Europeans, both high and low, that he cannot possibly love them. Yet, for his own interest, he ought not to throw away the kernel with the shell, and ought to consider (as he himself has said), that all the detriment which an hundred adventurers have caused him, is often outweighed a thousandfold by the honourable conduct of one man like those above-named. Their services and those of persons like them, are still as essential to preserve, as they formerly were to create; but a slight glance at the condition of the above-mentioned eminent Europeans will show that this truth is no longer duly appreciated by the Viceroy.

Cerisy left Egypt thoroughly disgusted by the intrigues which were constantly thrown in his way. Besson died insolvent at Alexandria, without any honour being paid to his memory; and his widow has not yet been able to obtain her pension. Sève is a Pacha, it is true, but he is only employed when the most imperative necessity calls for it, which was lately the case in Syria; and being an object of the constant jealousy of Ibrahim Pacha, he has, as I have said, but little influence, except in times of need; yet, it would have been precisely in Syria most important to Mehemet

Ali, to give to a man like Soliman Pacha the most unrestricted sphere of action, with unlimited confidence.

Those who are acquainted with the state of things in that country, and especially with the late insurrection, which threatened to be most dangerous to Mehemet Ali, are well aware that if Soliman Pacha had at that time had the command in Syria, that insurrection would never have taken place; and how many other most lamentable circumstances, which are now in full vigour there, would then have speedily passed over! Clot Bey is in a nearly similar situation. Harassed by the envy and hostility of innumerable persons, he is constrained to tack right and left, and dares not neglect any opportunity of performing for his superiors the most arduous services as a physician, notwithstanding his own shattered state of health. Yet, except an admission to the occasional familiarity of the Viceroy and Ibrahim Pacha, and a good salary —about which, however, he is the most indifferent— the credit and influence of Clot Bey, beyond his purely professional circle, is extremely small.

I have already said that M. Hammont was on the point of resigning his post, in order not to be forced to submit to the brutality of Muktar Bey; and Colonel Warin, whose cavalry school is placed under the same absurd ministry of Muktar Bey, in which there is not a single military man, sees its most essential regulations subjected to one obstacle after another, by perfectly ignorant men, though he enjoys in the highest degree the personal favour of the Viceroy*.

* This above ministerial department, under the title of "Department of Public Instruction," has made itself master of almost all

M. Linant is no better off; for after all the necessary preparations for his great work are completed, at a very considerable expense, it has remained paralysed for above a year by the keeping back of all funds, and by tiresome indecision; he is uncertain whether his whole undertaking may not be even now thrown aside, for he is still kept in suspense with empty promises.

M. Caporal, whom his great distance and the unshaken favour of Mustapha Pacha have indeed secured from prejudicial obstacles to his operations, has not yet been able, notwithstanding his eminent services, to obtain even the rank of a Bey, which is daily thrown away upon the most wretched Turkish individuals.

All this clearly proves that Mehemet Ali does not sufficiently appreciate the eminent men in his service, nor derive from them that advantage which he might easily do; while his Turkish counsellors, in part designedly, and in part from incapacity, destroy the greater part of his judicious plans. As a real friend and admirer of Mehemet Ali, and being invited by himself freely to express my opinion, I have not concealed this from him, and have seen by some proofs that it was not without at least a momentary effect. But the greatest disadvantage under which this extraordinary man labours is, that he could not seek his early education in foreign countries, like Peter the

branches of the administration; so that Muktar Bey directs, as their chief, all the civil and military schools, public institutions and buildings, roads and canals, the studs, economical establishments, medical and veterinary affairs, the manufactories, arts and trades, the formation of new museums, the flocks of sheep and the conveyance of camels and oxen from Senaar. It would be fortunate for the Viceroy if Muktar Bey were employed in this last business only.

Great, whom he resembles in many points; and that he does not even understand any foreign language. Thus, in the unavoidable continued conflict with Europe, he is compelled to depend too much on counsellors of his own nation, as well as on his interpreters, and must act, more or less, conformably to their views; because the clearest eye can see but imperfectly through a darkened glass. I know only two of his Oriental great men who may be said to be fully worthy of Mehemet Ali, and these are Boghos Bey, his Minister of Commerce; and Menichi Pacha, now Minister of War. Artim Bey, the Viceroy's dragoman, is a Jew, whose nation will undoubtedly one day act a great part in Egypt, and deserve to do so; he has the most complete European education among the Orientals.

All these have nothing to do with the administration of the interior; and, in Syria, where the shoe pinches most of all, nobody has any influence except Ibrahim Pacha and his creatures; what *they* are, will appear in the sequel.

I found numerous visitors in the house of Mr. Hammont, and here, for the first time, I saw an Almeh who was then the most celebrated beauty in the capital, notorious for the power of her charms, which so completely fascinated an Englishman that he went so far as to offer her his hand, which, however, she refused. In short, it was Saffia, who, unfortunately, had been too long celebrated, though still deserving of her reputation. She has become too rich, and too much of a lady, to be included in the general proscription of her companions; but, like the eminent

gamblers at Pfaro, in Europe, she is obliged to beware of the police. She is tall and slender, fair as an Englishwoman, of a noble carriage, with mild and engaging manners, and was, indeed, a very advantageous representative of her class.

The style of her dancing was similar to that which I had seen in Algiers and Tunis, with the exception of the war-dance, which she executed with her female slave, almost a prettier girl than herself, and in which she wielded her sabre like one of the famous Mamelukes; of whose costume she reminded us, by her immensely ample red pantaloons, and her bright green vest, embroidered with gold. Her profusion of black hair, mixed with as much false, hung in innumerable braids below her waist; and I certainly do not exaggerate when I assure my readers that above a thousand large and small pieces of current gold coin were braided into it. After she had danced a quarter of an hour, she drank coffee and smoked with us, with all the gravity of a Pacha: but afterwards, when some glasses of liqueur were handed to her, of which these Almehs are in general very fond, her assumed composure was changed to the ravings of a Bacchante, which seemed to me more original than agreeable. When I left the company, however, several of the gentlemen appeared to be of a very different opinion.

After seeing this Houri of the Paradise of Cairo, the same evening showed me, in the Avenue of Shoubra, the Egyptian Heaven in all its splendour; and this scene was of a more elevating nature. It is almost impossible to describe a scene like that which presented itself here at sunset on this day, without

being accused of exaggeration; and yet I can say, with truth, that while it lasted I became acquainted with entirely new shades of colour never seen before, and that I had no previous notion of the ethereal delicacy of this sky. With us, the clouds in the heavens play only in manifold and burning colours; here there were no clouds, but the entire firmament and the whole earth were veiled in soft, glowing tints, of indescribable loveliness. From the brilliant gold colour on the extreme horizon, a transparent, magic, sea-green mist spread over the pure ether, and bright rose-coloured streaks passed from this into lilac and silver stripes, which melted, in the east, into pale azure. Thus the whole vast canopy of heaven glistened in sublime delicacy and splendour, while the verdure covering the earth, clothed in the brightest lustre, and, as if illumed with a glory, often appeared, like the breast of a dove, to shine at the same time in green, blue, and gold. Add to this, the long arcade of the Avenue, gradually diminishing in perspective, shone before and above us in such a magical golden light, as if a thousand lamps were concealed behind, till the lower portion of the immense dome began to be veiled in twilight, and all objects grew indistinct, and faintly illumined, as in the conflict between light and darkness.

Suddenly, at the place where the sun had just gone down, a dark red sprang up from the deep; the glowing verdure of the crowns of the trees above me vanished in an instant; a strong perfume, as of roses and violets, filled the air, and before I could rightly analyse what I had seen, the oriental night, with a rapidity peculiar to this climate, had already dropped

her sombre veil, and all vanished, as if it had returned to the uncertain region of dreams.

The tone of mind which this had awakened in my breast was perfectly adapted to the company that expected me at home, where, besides my constant companions, the Ministerial Counsellor Lubbert, and Dr. Koch, I had invited Messrs. Lambert and Cavillia to dinner. The two latter gentlemen have that tinge of romance of which I am so fond, yet they are extremely different in their application of this turn of mind. The first is a St. Simonian, body and soul; but with all his enthusiasm, and his strange doctrines, is so decided and so clear, that he has here obtained, in jest, the nickname of the "Jesuit of the St. Simonians." It cannot be said of anybody that he better understands *de prêcher pour sa paroisse*, and he knows as well how to set forth the truth as to support the weak sides by the dangerous arm of sarcastic irony, which brings the laugh on his side; but he is very far from obtruding upon people, *bon gré mal gré*, the subject of his belief, like many injudicious Christian missionaries; and as he has a large fund of understanding and knowledge of the world, his conversation, even when not confined to the St. Simonian doctrines, is interesting and agreeable.

Mr. Cavillia is one of the *illuminati*, and is persuaded of the truth of many things which in Europe would pass for fables; for instance, the existence of white and black magic, and also of mysteries from the school of the Egyptian priests, still preserved by the elect, and still efficacious; these priests, according

to him, being far more profoundly versed in animal magnetism than we now have any notion of; likewise the vicinity of spirits, superior to human nature, with whom, under certain circumstances, we may have personal communion, &c. &c. On my observing to him that I wished very much to witness one of those scenes of which English and French travellers speak, where, by some unknown charm, an innocent child is enabled to see in the palm of its hand, and to describe, any person that you please, respecting whom information is desired, however distant he may be, or even belonging to ages long since past,—he answered, that nothing was more easy, and that Lord Prudhoe, like many others who were before incredulous, had been convinced to demonstration of the literal truth of the matter; only it was necessary, he added very coolly, in case I wished to make this experiment, to consider whether I would previously agree formally to do homage to the Evil Spirit.

I asked him, laughing, whether he thought the nobleman whom he mentioned had complied with this condition? "There is no doubt of it," he replied; "for without this formality, the thing is only possible in the opposite way, that is, by white (*holy*) magic; but for this a long, painful life of preparation is required." After Mr. Cavillia had made all kinds of equally strange mystical allusions, in which, in his own manner, he mixed up Christianity—which, not without reason, he calls the Word that was from Eternity, and had already filled the initiated among the Egyptian priesthood—he not very unequivocally inti-

mated that he was himself one of these initiated of the first class, who had explored the ground of all things. In the course of the conversation, he affirmed that his familiar spirit had announced to him the late French Revolution six months before it took place, which he had at that time immediately communicated to several persons.

The manner of the revelation was not a little singular; for the spirit appeared to him of gigantic stature, enthroned in the clouds over Alexandria; on the left side of his nose grew a tri-coloured flag, and on the right the colossal image of Louis-Philippe. "More things of importance may be expected in the world," continued Mr. Cavillia, "for the phantom has very recently appeared to me again." He did not, however, inform us what kind of revelation this was. But I suppose time will show.

Captain Cavillia had been lately engaged in a new examination of the Pyramids, in which he had united, by a contract, with Colonel Campbell, the English Consul-General, the English Vice-Consul at Alexandria, and Colonel Howard Vyse: so that, as he expressed himself, "Englishmen were bound to furnish the money, and he the head" for the undertaking. A dispute, however, between him and Colonel Vyse dissolved this union a few days before the meditated investigation; and the gallant Colonel Vyse undertook to prosecute the business alone, "without the assistance of the head;" of which Mr. Cavillia complained bitterly, as a violent, arbitrary dissolution of a formal contract. In the sequel, however, when

I met with Colonel Vyse on my visit to the Pyramids, he produced many plausible reasons for his conduct, so that a third person, without an accurate knowledge of the matter, cannot venture to give an opinion upon it.

Mr. Cavillia was filled with the most sanguine hopes of the possibility of great discoveries, of which, as he affirmed, he already possessed manifest indications. He hoped soon to disclose to the world, a yet unknown wonder of Egyptian architecture in the interior of the Pyramids. Though he always spoke very enigmatically, I thought I understood so much that, in his opinion, the whole of the upper part of the Great Pyramid, above the sepulchral chambers that have been discovered, is hollow, and forms an immense hall. This led to some remarks on what are called the "chambers of the King and of the Queen," and I quoted the text of Herodotus, according to which, the royal founder of the Pyramid is buried, not in it, but in the rocky basis below, which is surrounded by a subterraneous canal of the Nile;—upon which he exclaimed, vehemently, "No! no! there lies the great sacred crocodile, which contains in itself the quintessence of everything past and to come;" and he then commenced a most strange narrative, the tenor of which he, however, managed so dextrously, that it was always uncertain whether he was speaking allegorically or ironically, or in sober earnest—whether he was joking with us, or was himself in a waking dream.

For my part I believe, however, that there was something of both elements in it, and that Mr. Cavillia,

like all other prophets of our days, is half inspired, and half in his wits; half a believer, and half a deceiver. No one, however, can be so in a more entertaining and more unpretending manner than this original man, when he is in a humour for it; which, however, is of rare occurrence; since, as he is constantly engaged in mysterious studies, he is, in general, anything but communicative.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PILGRIMS TO MECCA—THE TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS.

On the following morning, I was awakened by the firing of the cannon which announced the departure of the Hadjés of the great caravan to Mecca.

My young friend, the French Consul Lesseps, a Parisian dandy in the Desert, with whom my reader became acquainted at Alexandria, came on his Tunisian charger to fetch me, and we hastened past the overturned monument of Désaix and the splendid gate of Victory, Bab-el-Nasr, to reach an open place where the procession had to pass. Several regiments are encamped there in huts, and daily exercise; but on this day we found them, in honour of the Holy Carpet, drawn up with the irregular cavalry, and lining both sides of the street. We took our station on an eminence near this spot. The procession was already approaching:—First came a detachment of cavalry, the officers dressed in their state uniforms in scarlet and gold; then several single camels adorned with coloured ribbons, upon one of which was seated a very dirty saint (santon) quite naked; next to him, also surrounded by cavalry, appeared a sort of richly-embroidered litter with a canopy, all of a green colour, which contained the carpet sent every year by the Sultan to the Holy Kaaba; other adorned camels

followed these, and some cavalry and the long train of the Hadjés brought up the rear.

The great body of the caravan collects one stage further in the Desert, where a halt of several days takes place, till all are assembled and set in order. A crowd of people accompanied the procession, and many fired their muskets in token of joy; some of them did so close by us. Only a few years ago Christians, in the European dress, would have been exposed to great danger by being present at this scene; but now the people appeared scarcely to notice us, and we were not even menaced with a hostile look; on the contrary, they invariably everywhere drew back respectfully before my kawass, whenever he thought fit to clear a place for us; and some naked Mahometan wrestlers, of athletic form, begged even, during the ceremony, to be allowed to exhibit to us infidels, *en passant*, a specimen of their art: which, however, I found wretched, the whole being confined to mere show, and no real combat taking place between them.

As soon as the little silk temple, with the holy carpet, which was to pass the night here, had been set down, and closely surrounded by a body of cavalry to keep off every profane eye, we hastened half a league further, to the imposing, now alas! half decayed, Tombs of the Caliphs; which present to the architect almost inexhaustible models of the most diversified, equally tasteful and original ornaments of old Arabian architecture, and again clearly proved that this style is most intimately connected with the Gothic, and that both are often almost perfectly similar.

Situated amid the sand of the Desert, and in such

dreary, solitary contrast with the tumults of the neighbouring capital, these comparatively-modern ruins, these numerous palaces of departed greatness, in the decay of art and splendour, produced a more melancholy impression on me than the far more ancient sepulchres of the old Egyptians. The first dome which we entered was the tomb of the hero Melek-el-Adhel, who was so celebrated in Arabian song, and has furnished Chateaubriand with a subject of one of his most charming poems.

The arabesque paintings, or elegant writing of this monument, are considered as the most perfect of the kind in Cairo. The cupola is bold, light and airy, of a striking effect, replete with bright colours and gilding; but, as the whole has been wantonly injured in many places, this beautiful mausoleum, if not speedily repaired, (which can never be expected from the Turks), is threatened with speedy destruction. One of the grandest and most splendid tombs, part of which most probably, has served for a palace, is that of a Caliph of the first dynasty and of his Consort, whose name I have forgotten. It is in the form of a quadrangle, with two lofty towers and two cupolas, surrounding a large court-yard, in the centre of which there is a fountain.

The noble pair are buried under the two cupolas which are at the extremities of a spacious hall, and are surrounded by walls inlaid with coloured marbles and with most admirably-wrought transparent gratings of metal and wood. The hall, too, is of grand dimensions, and its elegant stone pulpit would be a suitable ornament to the finest of our cathedrals. The whole

was open, abandoned to destruction of every kind, without protection, and slowly mouldering into dust, like the bodies which it conceals.

For the sake of the prospect, we ascended one of the towers on the side next the city, though several steps, and, in many places, the balustrades, were wanting in the stairs, which were partly built on the outside. We had scarcely reached the first story when a strong perfume of ambergris met us, and immediately afterwards a pretty girl came upon us, like an apparition, from a low side door; she was gaily ornamented, bowed very low, and humbly asked for a baksish; we were at first not a little surprised at her unexpected appearance, but the enigma was soon cleared up. Two of the Almehs, lately expelled from Cairo by the law of Mehemet Ali, had taken up their quarters here, in order, under the protection of abandoned tombs, to continue in secret, uninterruptedly, their calling, so peculiarly heterogeneous in this place. The poor children, one black and the other white, excited our pity too much not to reap, this time in all innocency, a rich harvest.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCHOOL OF KASR-EL-AIN—THE ISLAND OF RHOUDA.

THOUGH strangers are usually assured that it never rains in Cairo, we were overtaken, on our return, by a violent thunder-storm, followed by a heavy rain for two hours, which thoroughly drenched us; but I did not suffer this to deter me from paying a visit to the school of Kasr-el-Ain, the first establishment of this kind by the Viceroy that I saw, and the admirable arrangement of which must inspire every impartial person with sincere esteem for its founder. Several continuous fine large buildings, two stories high, in the European style, inclosed a garden and a large court-yard planted with avenues of trees, in the centre of which stands the Mosque.

These buildings contain dwellings, dining-rooms, sick-wards, and school apartments for two thousand pupils, with residences for the teachers and servants, a large bath, the kitchens, store-rooms, &c. Each division has its own servants, who are well dressed and who wait at table; and the strictest order and cleanliness prevail from the threshold to the roof.

The scholars are all in uniform, and are new-clothed every year. Each of them has a separate bed and iron bedstead, a cupboard for his effects, a mat and carpet, and a cushion to sit upon. The employment of their time is regulated in the military manner;

and, to keep the young people well disciplined, they are obliged to march like soldiers both to school and to dinner. I was present at one of their meals, of which there are two every day, which I found to be better and more abundant than in any of our German schools; at least, in those with which I am acquainted, and especially in such as are supported at the expense of the Government.

The pupils dined in two halls, at round tables with benches, in squads of ten at a table; they are extremely well-behaved, though left perfectly unshackled in their conversation, and not in the least disturbed by the presence of any visitor, even of the Viceroy himself; for it is a very rational and humane regulation of Turkish etiquette, that no one is to rise, nor salute, nor be bound to any other mark of respect, while he is at dinner, whoever may happen to come in. This rule extends to all servants, and even animals are not disturbed during their meals except in cases of the greatest necessity.

The view from the lofty open windows of these halls on the new plantations of Ibrahim, the city encompassed by palms, the citadel, and the dark Mokattam, with its many small forts, glowing in full splendour in the sun, which now again broke forth, was enchantingly fine; a real picture-gallery for these boys as they sat at table: and the Arabic teacher proved to me that people here are not insensible to these beauties of nature, for he immediately drew my attention to this prospect. The instruction which the boys receive is conformable with the objects of the institution, which is intended as a transition from the

primary to the higher schools. Military education goes hand in hand with it: a circumstance which I frequently heard blamed; but it appears to me that a two-fold advantage arises from this system—for the youth to be educated, and at the same time to promote the private objects of the Viceroy. Mustapha Bey, an Egyptian, a very intelligent, excellent young man, who received his education in Europe, is at the head of this establishment; and the zeal which he himself felt was expressed in his countenance, certainly the surest guarantee of a proper discharge of official duties in any department.

As the weather had cleared up, I thought I would take advantage of it, and pay a visit to the Viceroy; but I was informed that he had ridden to Fostat. I accordingly turned my horse's head in that direction, in the hope of meeting him, and seeing in what manner he appeared in public. It was not long before a kawass, who rode before, announced his approach. I drew up with the by-standers to let his Highness pass; but as soon as Mehemet Ali saw me, he beckoned me to come up to him, and I rode by his side to the palace. He was without any state, and had but few attendants, among whom Menikli Pacha was conspicuous by his lofty stature, and warlike deportment. Achmed Menikli Pacha is a general of cavalry, celebrated in Egypt, who had lately been appointed minister of war, and by his brilliant charge with the regiment of guards, which he then commanded, greatly contributed to the success of the battle of Konieh.

The Viceroy himself was distinguished from the

rest only by his greater simplicity; but the looks of the people, who respectfully ranged themselves when he appeared, seemed to follow him with affection and admiration, without any marks of slavish fear. This assertion may surprise many persons in Europe, but I was convinced a hundred times that Mehemet Ali, notwithstanding all his despotic measures, is really popular in his own country with the high and low: the best proof possible that his government cannot be so utterly unsuitable to the country as some of our wise theorists conceive. He saluted the people to the right and left, without pausing for a moment in his lively conversation with me. Thus we reached the palace, where I took leave, in order to enjoy the fine evening, which was deliciously refreshed by the rain, in the neighbouring island of Rhouda.

This delightful, richly-wooded island has unfortunately been lately much spoiled by the unhappy idea of laying out what is called an English garden or park. I have already observed, that gardens in this taste, the chief ornaments of which are verdant woods, meadows, and lawns, and are less suited to sublime than to pleasing and rural scenery, are not adapted to this climate, or to the imposing gravity of Egypt. This idea, which I had conceived *à priori*, I here found completely confirmed upon inspection; and the result was the more deplorable, because a most ignorant man, a true John Bull gardener, such as there are even now too many of in England, had accumulated the most tasteless absurdities at an enormous expense. Among these absurdities I include a ridiculous building, in the style of genuine English nonsense-

architecture, where all kinds of styles are mingled together, but where the Greek is intended to predominate; to which it is so admirably suited, that one of the *façades* represents a shell grotto with natural rock! and a most clumsy imitation it is.

Added to this is the perfectly useless inconvenience that you cannot find your way through the low winding entrance, which is scarcely a foot broad, without stooping almost to the earth; and when you have reached the interior dark part of the grotto, which is the culminating point, a signal is given, and a small cascade falls for a couple of minutes, the water for which is supplied by a cistern upon the roof! In front of the entrance of this absurd toy, are seats raised one above the other, from which there is a view over a lake formed in an irregular winding line, the abrupt boundaries of which, to make them still more unnatural, are inclosed in very neat stone walls, surmounted by a heavy round coping. Further on, this piece of water ends in a small canal, often so narrow that one can easily leap over it; which however is still inclosed in similar walls, and winds its tortuous course throughout the whole park, full of filthy mud, like a disgusting reptile, and terminates at length in a small basin, exactly resembling a certain piece of furniture, which cleanly persons use at their morning and evening toilette.

The green water of this canal is bordered by crippled and dried shrubs, or clover-fields, and, for the sake of irrigation, which is here indispensable, appear in many small raised square beds, like a kitchen-garden, instead of being spread out in a

smooth velvet surface. Even the groups of trees, which are scattered about the garden, produce a disagreeable effect; much the same as if, in our country, they were planted, not in a meadow or a lawn, but in a potato-field or a cabbage-garden. We here see how important the *à-propos* is in everything, since in the rectangular figures traversed by straight avenues in the Promenades of Cairo, which I have extolled so much, these same regular free squares of clover, which are there used merely to fill up, resemble a colossal chess-board; and being in harmony with the equally regular walks that surround them, produce a pleasing and original effect to the eye; but here, where they are meant to represent plots of wood and meadow, imitated from nature, they only have a most awkward effect.

The attempt to give the ground more variety by artificial eminences and single hills, has proved equally absurd; since the first, by their unnatural shape, only resemble dams, and the other tumuli. Even in the plantations, this insular artist has proved himself a block-head; some gigantic venerable sycamores, which, if properly taken advantage of, would have given him an opportunity of making some grand pieces of scenery, are either quite hidden by planting before them fluttering poplars and willows, or their striking effect is entirely destroyed by other incongruities. The shrubs are for the most part so thinly planted, that more black earth than green foliage is to be seen. Firs are everywhere planted close to the paths, which they completely overrun, and the groups are distributed so abruptly, stiffly, and out of place, over the clover-fields, that the

Greeks, if they compare the noble gardens of Shoubra laid out by Greeks, with this salmagundi of pretended English gardening, must unquestionably conceive a most lamentable idea of the latter. On this account, probably another part of the island has been left to a second, I believe a French, gardener, who has retained more of the style of Shoubra, so that some portions are much prettier, but, by the way, far from equalling that admirable garden; for, in spite of his better judgment, he has suffered himself to be seduced by the bad example near him, and has introduced, here and there, into his regular design, some of the unhappy errors of his colleague, which are neither nature nor art.

In my opinion, an entirely new *genre* must be invented for the Egyptian art of gardening, in which regularity should indeed be the fundamental principle, but without excluding the greatest diversity. As constant irrigation is a *conditio sine quâ non* here, and cannot possibly be concealed, this must form the basis of the design; which, if well considered and cleverly executed, might produce very highly original effects: and a large as well as a smaller scale affords the most pleasing pictures,—comparable on the whole, in some degree, to an arabesque picture,—in which the contours of the indispensable channels, the filling up, and the gradations by vegetation of every kind suited to the climate, from the gigantic sycamore to the smallest flower, would be found. As Nature differs in every climate, and gives a peculiar character to the countries situated in it, the art of gardening must everywhere follow different principles; for Northern

Europe I am convinced that the principle of English landscape gardening is better suited than any other, with a few individual local exceptions. The villas of Italy require totally different environs: and for Algiers and Barbary, for Greece, and for Egypt, I amuse myself with framing new systems, differing from each other, which I intend to publish by-and-by as a supplement to my little work on Landscape Gardening, which has been received by the public with an indulgence beyond its merits. Thus much may suffice at present

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SLAVE-MARKET—FOSTAT—TOURAH.

THE succeeding days were entirely absorbed by company. I was obliged to give a *dîner* to the Consuls, and afterwards to some Turks of distinction, who were supplied with pipes during the repast; then too I had to pay some visits, which I ought to have done before; and, lastly, to make purchases. Many things of great interest are met with at Cairo in this department. Indian goods of various kinds, stuffs, articles of curious and elaborate workmanship, and rare fruits, which are highly prized by the *gourmand;* and, comparatively speaking, they are very cheap here. Many precious stones, and especially emeralds and turquoises, are sold at moderate prices.

The products of Jemen are grotesque and absurd; and, among the goods from Central Africa, are some great curiosities; for example, the very singular riding-whips, made of hippopotamus-skin, which are called "Kurbatch" in Arabic, whence, without doubt, the word Karbatshe was introduced into Germany after the Crusades. Articles of Turkish and Syrian manufacture are very dear, and there is not much variety.

I visited the black slave-market, which, however mildly the slaves are in general treated here, nevertheless inspires the European with far other sentiments than it does the Oriental; and it is a lamentable fact that,

notwithstanding the universal sentiments respecting slavery felt at home, Europeans mix themselves up in this disgraceful traffic, and even treat their slaves worse than the Mussulmans. If it were by any means possible to overlook the dark side of this picture—and, indeed, *here* it would be utterly useless to make any lamentations about it—it must with all candour be confessed that this slave-market, save the degradation of the human species, (which, however, is often seen in gilded halls, amid stars and orders, and where it appears in more disgusting colours, because there it is *voluntary*,) presents a singular, nay, I had almost said, a comical appearance.

In the first place the slaves themselves evince not the slightest indication of grief or sorrow in their manner, which is certainly the most varied and original in the world. They are seated in scattered groups, in the open apartments and in the large court, laughing and talking, their countenances either expressing the most stupid apathy, or brutish recklessness. Female slaves, who have but just arrived, are usually clothed in the costume of their country, that is to say, they are scarcely clothed at all; but if they have been previously slaves, they are dressed in the Oriental style; and these latter are generally distinguished by their ill-humour, and a certain audacious, impertinent manner, mixed with a degree of coquetry. They often make a great fuss if they are desired to unveil their faces, and pretend to be enraged and disgusted with the purchaser; while the new-comers, who are still in a state of nature, not only uncover their faces, but, with the quietness of a lamb, whose wool is being

examined, they patiently submit to the coarse handling of the dealer. We were accompanied by a Levantine, who was attached to the French Consulate, whose remarkable routine and grotesque unrestrainedness, in the trade of examining and manipulating the slaves, connected as it was with the technical terms of his profession, made me laugh in spite of myself.

But I must at once change this disgusting subject, which has a black side in more respects than one, and I will, therefore, conduct my reader through Old Cairo, or as it is now called, Fostat, to the Academy of the Artillery in Tourah, a town which is said to have been erected on the site of ancient Troy, just as the ancient Egyptian Babylon is sought for, on the mountains beyond Fostat. I think, however, that the latter once stood on the spot where Mehemet Ali erected the present citadel.

We commenced our investigation of Fostat (Old Cairo), with a visit to the Coptic Church, beneath which an apartment, just like a cellar, is pointed out as the grotto where the Virgin Mary, with Joseph and the infant Jesus, took refuge in their flight into Egypt. Of course, we were obliged to give our monkish guide a good Arabian bakshish for pointing out to us this Christian curiosity; though, verily, the bricked cellar had not the remotest resemblance in the world with anything approaching to a grotto. In the chapel itself, however, there were some very costly and elegant arabesques of wood and ivory.

We next proceeded to the Mosque of Amru, the Conqueror of Egypt. It is quite in ruins, and is surrounded with dreary and desolate mounds of

débris and rubbish; but it was built in a splendid and noble style. A large court, which is surrounded by triple and quadruple colonnades, would not have been a disparagement to an antique Academy in Greece. In the middle of this court is a small, neatly-ornamented building—a standing monument of the justice of Amru; just like the Mill of Potzdam, for it belonged to a poor Jewess, who was unwilling to dispose of it to the Sultan; upon which he merely built his splendid erection around it, instead of pulling it down. Very many curious things are shown in this mosque; which is, independently, still so far distinguished, that every year, on the last Friday of the Rammadan, the Viceroy, attended by all his grandees and officers, visit it in state.

The most singular objects are, first, a column, which the great Amru, I know not on what occasion, attempted to hew in pieces; but only made a deep indenture with his Damascene blade—an effort which is pointed out as represented by a vein of the marble; secondly, a double pair of other pillars, which are said to possess a quality equal to that of the two celebrated pillars in the Holy Mosque el Kerouan, namely, that only a *just* person can pass between them without danger, while the *unrighteous* will remain wedged between them. They gave rise to a droll intermezzo.

The kawass of his Highness, who, whether I will or no, accompanies me everywhere,—a tall, shrivelled old man, with a very long nose and a wide mouth,—carries, as I have said, a badge of his dignity—a staff as high as himself, surmounted with a silver ornament with many bells, exactly like those on a child's-rattle;

for which reason I have given him the name of my Rattle-snake Obligato; by which he is now generally called by my European acquaintance. Now, my rattle-snake, after long resistance, suffered himself to be persuaded to stand the test between the fatal pillars; when, lo and behold!—such is the power of imagination—he stuck fast, notwithstanding his leanness; turned first as red as a rose, and then as white as a lily; and, at the end, might, perhaps, have been struck with apoplexy, had not Ackermann taken hold of him, and violently pushed him through. Ackermann, hereupon, hastened bravely to follow him, though half as stout again, and probably not much superior to him in morality; but, then, he is a truly orthodox Roman Catholic, and the other is only a poor infidel Mussulman, which makes not a little difference! My remaining Mussulman attendants, after this unhappy trial, would not make the attempt, and so I proceeded, laughing, to Tourah.

Beyond Fostat, the river, which is more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, is bordered by a row of ancient sycamores, and affords a very fine prospect of Ghizeh and the long suite of pyramids on the other bank, to beyond the palm-groves of Memphis. After having stopped a few minutes in the workshop, where the costly blocks of oriental marble were preparing for the Mosque of Mehemet Ali, we continued our way over a desert tract along the Mokattam, while M. Lesseps, who is one of the best and most elegant horsemen of France, and was mounted on his fine Barbary steed, amused us by his skilful imitation of the various manœuvres of the Arabs. The sober grey

horse of the Viceroy which I rode, if I had been ever so much inclined, could not have performed anything of the kind, so that I was obliged to content myself with riding straight forward in a short gallop, which soon brought us to the immense Quarries, and where many royal cartouches and hieroglyphics and elaborately hewn gates still indicate the former works of the ancient Egyptians. Immense arched vaults run far into the rocks, but they are light and free, not connected with each other in the manner of the Greek quarries, by long dark galleries and tortuous passages. The sandstone breaks in strata, which very much facilitates the working of them, and in some degree already indicate in the quarry the form of the colossal stones which have been employed in building the pyramids. Even now work is actively going on for the collection of materials for an equally gigantic undertaking, and which are to be conveyed to the water-side by railway.

The work of which I am speaking is the throwing of a dam across the Nile at the entrance of the Delta, projected by M. Linant, and approved by the Viceroy, and of which I shall hereafter give fuller particulars; and with which, if it succeeds as is hoped, no construction of ancient or modern times would deserve to be compared, as well in regard to its consequences as to the boldness of the plan. It was, therefore, doubly agreeable to me, that M. Linant himself, a man as much distinguished for his modesty as by his active genius, was likewise among my kind companions on this occasion; the reading world is well acquainted with his Travels to Arabia and Meroe,

of the ruins of which he gave the first authentic drawings. During this time he made himself master of the language and manners of the Arabs, among whom he mingled as often as he pleased, and was always looked upon as one of their own people; he so thoroughly enjoyed the free independent life of this remarkable race, that he frequently assured us he had passed the happiest days of his life in the parcel of ground which he possessed near Mount Sinai, and that he intended to close his days there. An engaging exterior, great suavity of manner, a fund of scientific knowledge, an ardent enterprising spirit, combined with great composure and perseverance, make Mr. Linant, a man who must, indeed, reflect honour on any nation to which he may belong, either by birth or by choice.

M. Linant was literally at home in the stone quarries; for he, who has so few wants, lived here for several months together in a cave, so that he might direct the workmen in person, and encourage them by his constant presence; yet, in spite of all the pains which he took, he could never induce them to work—like their colossal predecessors, the ancient Egyptians—deep into the rock, instead of clearing only from the outside, which is their present method, and which is ill adapted to the purpose. The dread of evil spirits has such an influence over them, that they declare they would rather die than expose themselves to coming in contact with such associates; for they take the hieroglyphics, which are here and there cut in the stony wall, for the cabalistic signs of the spirits. We ourselves were not so happy in our investigations

as to be troubled by any of the spirits, unless they were in the shape of wild pigeons, and bats, numbers of which flew about us flapping their black wings.

The Artillery school at Tourah, likewise one of the grand establishments of the Viceroy, is the only one of the kind which was not organised by a Frenchman, but by General Sequerra, a Spaniard. It seems, however, to have undergone many injudicious changes, and to have lost much by his departure.

Sequerra, who served with great distinction as Colonel of Artillery in the Spanish war against France, and, as I was assured, most thoroughly understood his branch of the service, is to be considered as the creator of the whole Egyptian Artillery service; and his loss has not been supplied. The Artillery school itself, like all other military establishments of this kind, has fallen into the hand of Muktar Bey, who is certainly the most ignorant, arrogant, and, in a word, inefficient man in the service of the Viceroy; who most unaccountably places confidence in him, because he is a compatriot, has all the qualities of a good courtier, and has, besides, studied seven years in France, at the expense of the Viceroy, without, however, bringing anything from that country, except its language, and tenfold increased arrogance, with the vice of drunkenness to a most degrading excess. The departure of Sequerra is chiefly owing to Muktar's intrigues: one of the many wounds, which, less perhaps from ill-will than from capricious stupidity, he has inflicted on the interests of his too indulgent master.

Sequerra was a man of the old school, who performed his duty to the utmost; but with great harsh-

ness and without indulgence, required all others to do the same. His manner may certainly have been too haughty and blunt, and, as he spared no one, whoever he might be, he could not fail to have many secret and open enemies. He repeatedly declared that he would take orders from nobody in Egypt except from Mehemet Ali himself, as there was no one here except him who understood his business as well as he did himself. In fact, he more than once sent commands to this effect to the Minister, with the admonition that he had better become acquainted with the subject that was being treated of, before he issued commands which were absurd and impracticable, and, consequently, would receive no attention from him. If, however, he were threatened with the sovereign authority of Mehemet Ali, he would leave the school, and demand his discharge. During one of these *fracas*, which were not of unfrequent occurrence, after having sent back the Colonel's commission which had been granted him, he extorted, as a public satisfaction, that Mehemet Ali should pay a state visit to the Artillery school, and, after an examination of the pupils (which came off with great *éclat*), to receive his nomination as Egyptian General. However, he at last grew tired of these repeated chicaneries, and declared decidedly and irrevocably, that he would no longer remain in the service; and in spite of all the endeavours of Mehemet Ali, who well knew his worth, he immediately returned to Spain, where he now fills a high post, and is one of the most influential adherents of the Queen.

Notwithstanding the great strength of his character,

Sequerra appears nevertheless to have had *one* weakness, which contributed not a little to the termination of his career in Egypt, for the Turks stood too much in awe of him to have so pertinaciously continued their persecutions without foreign aid. This weakness was an irrational hatred of the French, which showed itself on every occasion; and though he was otherwise full of generosity, and ever ready to serve strangers of every other nation, it led him into manifest injustice as soon as a Frenchman was concerned. This placed him in a state of enmity with Soliman Pacha, upon whom he could not bear to be in any way dependent, any more than upon the Turks, saying of him, "That Soliman Pacha might be one of the old, but by no means one of the good soldiers of Napoleon; and, at all events, he understood nothing about the Artillery, though he might be able to command a regiment of Hussars."

What would poor Sequerra say, if he knew that the best of his scholars have lately been taken from Tourah, to be employed as clerks under the administration of Muktar, while perfectly ignorant favourites of the minister have been placed as officers in the Artillery in their stead; and that M. Lubbert, the historiographer of Egypt, is appointed director of the examination in the same Artillery school; a man who, at Paris, in the capacity of *gentilhomme ordinaire de chambre*, had the superintendence of the theatres, where, it is true, much gunpowder is still expended, but where, I imagine, the study of the Artillery is still less to be acquired than tactics, from the seven girls in uniform? Such are the new arrangements of Muktar Bey, and though Sequerra's spirit still breathes

in the institution, which was founded and so long admirably directed by him, it is very evident that, under existing circumstances, every trace of it will soon disappear, unless Mehemet Ali speedily adopts other measures to restore it.

The present superintendent at Tourah, who fills the post in a far inferior degree to Sequerra, and who, on receiving injudicious orders, has nothing to do but to obey, with a silent shrug of the shoulders, is Commandant Bonneau, a Frenchman of merit; and associated with him in the work is Nazir Mustapha Effendi, who was educated in France.

The buildings are plain, roomy, and well adapted to the purpose, but they are not yet completed; that is to say, the stables are still in the course of erection; but the locality for the school itself, with all the necessary dwellings, are finished. From what I have already stated, it may be taken for granted, that no less order, cleanliness, and completeness prevail here than at Kasr-el-Ain. Here, too, the court-yards are agreeably ornamented with shady trees, and a noble exercise-ground extends behind the institution to the foremost hills of the Mokkatam. After looking at some foot exercises, which the pupils performed in the great court-yard, with much credit to themselves, we proceeded to the above-mentioned ground, to witness the practice with cannon mortars. The effects of the high degree of training to which Sequerra had brought his pupils were here manifest; I have seldom seen any better practice, for at a distance of 700 paces, out of 48 cannon shot, 28 hit the mark, and several of the bombs fell very near the mark, at the distance of 1200 paces. The institution is calculated for 330 pupils,

but at the present time there were only 180, the minister having taken away a great number of them before the completion of their studies, to place them in situations of various kinds, but only a very few of them in the Artillery.

There are six professors and teachers, and the sciences in which they chiefly give instruction are, military drawing, of which I saw excellent specimens; simple and practical algebra, geometry, mathematics, mechanics, fortification, and the Oriental languages. The provision made for the pupils is more munificent here than in Kasr-el-Ain, for they have rich and tasteful uniforms, like the troops of the line; and, according to the latest order of Mehemet Ali, are in future to receive a monthly pay of 100 to 150 piastres each. The real progress which the pupils now make in the sciences which they are here taught, cannot be satisfactorily shown without a regular examination. To some casual questions which I put to them, they gave appropriate and quick answers; and, with respect to their deportment and military carriage, the young people, to do them no more than justice, certainly fulfilled all reasonable expectation. I have said before that Tourah (as is supposed) stands on the site of ancient Troy, which probably dĕrives its name from a Greek military colony.

M. Linant had had the kindness to send for his gondola for our return, and we accordingly all embarked in it, after enjoying a good *déjeûner à la fourchette* in the refectory at Tourah. It is an exquisite enjoyment to sail down the Nile, on an Egyptian winter evening, in a canja so admirably fitted up as that of M. Linant, in which even a small select library is not

wanting. Not a breath stirred the pure golden air, and we glided gently and slowly along the unruffled waters, carried, by the current, past the Coptic convent, where, it is affirmed, that Moses was taken out of the water; glanced, *en passant*, at the house of the derwishes, which is devoted to another religion, and where they charm the devotees of their faith every Friday with their giddy, whirling dance. We afterwards passed a small palace belonging to the last of the Mameluke chiefs, whom Mehemet Ali pardoned, and now suffers to enjoy his old age in peace. This Bey saved himself, in the tumult, by pretending to be dead, and suffered himself to be carried out as such, and then, though severely wounded, took the first favourable opportunity to escape, which he happily effected. Only one besides himself was saved, by the extraordinary spirit of his horse, which leaped over a wall seven feet high, and just at a place where the abyss formed by the rock is at least eighty feet deep. The noble animal broke his neck in the fall, but brought down his rider unhurt, so that he was able to conceal himself before his pursuers had time to approach.

The masses of trees in the island of Rhouda stood out beautifully in the glow of the setting sun, and cast their long shadows across the Nilometer, over which M. Linant, by order of the Viceroy, is now erecting a light, Moorish, protecting temple. The rapidly-advancing night soon hid every prospect from our eyes, and, in the last moments of our little voyage, made each one of us retire within himself, for profound silence prevailed, when, at bright starlight, we reached the little garden of my residence, and ascended the solitary flight of stone steps which leads to it.

CHAPTER XVII.

MILITARY EXERCISES AT GHIZEH.

The next day was even more splendid than its predecessor, and not less rich in enjoyment. His Highness had invited me to be present at the exercises of the pupils of the Cavalry school at Ghizeh, under the direction of Colonel Warin, who was formerly first aide-de-camp of Marshal St. Cyr, and who has done so much for Egypt.

I set out in Baki Bey's gondola at seven o'clock; and, on my arrival at Ghizeh, I found all the consuls, a considerable portion of the *beau monde* of Cairo, and a large assemblage of spectators, already on the spot. Colonel Warin conducted me into an upper apartment of his residence, where I found several strangers, as well as the amiable family of M. Bonfort, whose society I seek daily, in preference to any other. Madame Chianti, a sister of M. Bonfort, is known in the European circles of Cairo by the name of the "beautiful widow;" and her younger sister vies with her in the freshness of her charms. M. Bonfort's cousin, however, Mademoiselle Maritza, carries off the palm. She is a surpassingly enchanting woman, a lovely being, in whom are exquisitely combined the graces of the East and the West; for her voluptuous and perfectly symmetrical form, raven hair and bril-

liant eyes, are Asiatic, while her delicately formed mouth, thoughtful manner, refined intellectual expression, her melodious voice, and, whether gay or grave, her feeling, impassioned, deeply sympathetic soul, bears indisputable stamp of European birth. Independently of this, there is something about her which cannot be defined; I might almost say a tragic glory, which perceptibly arrays some individuals with a magic transparent veil, that invests the remembrance of them with an indescribable something that can never be forgotten. Let me not, however, be supposed to mean the presentiment of some tragic end; no, it is the unequivocal indication of the tragic power of the mind: it is a rare possession, and of all the women I have ever seen, this peculiar charm was expressed by none more forcibly, than by that most incomparable of all actresses, Miss O'Neill.

It is indisputably true, that no qualification is more advantageous to a dramatic career, or more certain of success, than this magic halo; and often when I listened to the song of the enchanting Maritza, who has the voice of a Pasta, and who possesses all the pre-requisites which, under good training, would make her an equally celebrated and scientific *artiste*—and when I gazed upon her faultless form, and her beautiful, deeply expressive face—I could not help deploring that so singular a combination of qualifications should be confined within the limits of the daily routine of social relations, and thereby be diverted from their evident destination—that of contributing to the delight of thousands. The Saint Simonians and their visions were in my mind, and it is in some

respect a pity that they are so wholly incapable of realization.

My entrancing reveries were interrupted by the arrival of Mehemet Ali, who was received by the deafening acclamations of the crowd and the music of the military, supported by Muktar Bey and the newly-appointed minister of war; his Highness hastily ascended the steep shore, boldly threw himself into the saddle of his horse which was in readiness, and which, on this occasion, was richly caparisoned, and instantly proceeded to the exercise ground, where a raised platform had been prepared for him. I received an intimation to follow him. As usual, he gave me the kindest welcome, invited me to sit down on a *fauteuil* at his right hand, to look at the manœuvres, which immediately commenced. M. Lesseps sat on the left hand of the Viceroy, in a cane-bottomed chair; for the Orientals are as punctilious as Spaniards in point of etiquette, though they do not at all apply it according to our notions. No stranger was admitted besides us; but all the Viceroy's courtiers stood round, so that we had only an open space just in front of us.

M. Lesseps, whose graceful manners and great popularity I have before mentioned, is considered almost as a son by Mehemet Ali, because the father of the young consul was his faithful friend in weal and in woe; and when Mehemet Ali first began his career in a narrow sphere, he was often his wise counsellor, and not unfrequently his protector. At that time, indeed, as at present, a European consul-general in the East (through a remarkable voluntary submission

of the Turks, under European civilisation, as it is chiefly manifested to them in mercantile affairs,) possessed much more opportunity and power than an ambassador at the European courts. We must, therefore, not censure too severely a little self-conceit which is, perhaps, not quite unjustly ascribed to these gentlemen in the East, who, though so insignificant in Europe, are so important here: the fault lies not in the consuls, but in human nature, which always fashions itself according to circumstances. It is therefore the more delightful to find in a young man, who combines with his consular dignity eminent personal qualities, and enjoys into the bargain the most unequivocal favour of the sovereign of the country, not a trace of arrogance, but, on the contrary, the most lively desire to please everybody, to oblige many, and, with refined tact, to seize every opportunity to unite and conciliate the many conflicting interests.

This is the part which M. Lesseps plays here; and I must equally do justice to his judicious deportment in regard to the paternal kindness of the Viceroy; for it is delightful to see the just equilibrium between a man's own dignity, his duty, and his personal gratitude, so completely preserved. I am likewise fully convinced, that though M. Lesseps would be qualified for any other diplomatic post, yet that so long as Mehemet Ali lives, no consul-general can render so much service to his country in Egypt as he. An anecdote has been related to me, which not only most strikingly characterises the adroit frankness of this young man, but acquires general interest

on account of the highly respected person to whom it relates. When M. Lesseps was in France last year, the King, who is too quick-sighted not to entertain a high opinion of Mehemet Ali, asked him in a confidential manner, "What do you say of Ibrahim?" "Sire," replied Lesseps, "I will not venture to give any positive opinion respecting him, because I know too little of him; but so much is certain, that no man understands better than he does how to manage his own private property; and experience teaches, that those who understand this are likewise eminent as the governors of great states." I fancy I can see the significant and winning smile with which the King of the French must have received this answer, which far outweighs an entire examination in Berlin diplomacy, and might be envied even by a Russian.* *Apropos* of anecdotes! I will add one respecting Mehemet Ali himself, which is one of the most original, and places in the clearest light the extraordinary, unsophisticated character—nay, I might justly say, the primitive innocent simplicity, of this great man.

Conversing one day with M. Lesseps on the services which his father had rendered him—a subject on which he often dwells with gratitude and delight—he continued, smiling, "I was once placed in no small embarrassment in his house; I had dined with him together with some other Turks—unpolished guests, ignorant and licentious men, as we all were at that time, when soon afterwards it was perceived that some of

* The brilliant part which M. Lesseps has since acted in Spain confirms what is here said of him.

the plate was missing. I never in my life felt in such distress, nor more anxious to discover the thief; for I was incessantly tormented by the thought that my friend might imagine that I myself had stolen the plate. Happily, however, the real thief was soon afterwards discovered, which was an immense relief to my mind." I refrain from any farther comment on these words, but pity him who does not feel their *noble naïveté* as coming from the mouth of Mehemet Ali.

The manœuvres now arrested our entire attention, and I shall sufficiently characterise them, when I say that, both in regard to outward military deportment, and the elegance of the uniforms, (green dolmans, with yellow lace, and scarlet trousers,) and to the precision of the several evolutions, these four squadrons of the cavalry school could not be distinguished from European regiments, except by the great superiority of the battle-horses on which they were mounted. This was particularly manifest in the brilliancy of the attack, whose lightning-like rapidity was truly marvellous, and by their instantaneous, sudden halting, as if petrified. The Viceroy told me, on this occasion, that he had, in Syria, a brigade of cavalry all mounted on Nedshdi, for which he had spared neither pains nor expense, but that he expected from those regiments twice as much as others were able to perform. "I, too," he exclaimed, with an enthusiasm that well became him, "was formerly an excellent chevalier, and not the worst horseman in the world; now, since we have adopted European exercise, more attention must be

paid to the *ensemble*; yet, even now, a good and well-trained horse is the most indispensable element of a good chevalier." "Your highness," said M. Lesseps, "is indeed still but too good a horseman, for we lately saw you riding so furiously on the smooth pavement of the Citadel, that we all felt alarmed."

Mehemet Ali smiled, and stroked his beard, but replied, "No, no, that is mere child's play; I am now old, and leave such pranks to young fellows like you."

He then related many *tours de force* of the Mamelukes; and affirmed, that, whatever might be said, he was convinced that their cavalry was unrivalled, and that if the French boasted that theirs, in equal numbers, and without the assistance of infantry, could ever be a match for that of the Mamelukes, they told an egregious falsehood. This assertion, I, for one, had before heard from some French officers of that period. "But," continued the Viceroy, "to create any such anew is impossible. Everything has its day, and when that is past it gives way to something else. What is dead cannot be recalled to life." It would be well, thought I, if many of our Christian rulers would take to heart this practical doctrine of the Mussulman.

We were here interrupted by a strange occurrence. The heat was so oppressive, that one of the servants in the suite of Mehemet Ali had an epileptic fit; on a sudden, we heard, close behind us, the most fearful noises, such as persons in those attacks often utter, and which really made us tremble with horror. Mehemet Ali appeared not to pay any attention, though there was much difficulty in silencing the

screaming sufferer, but continued the conversation, as if he heard nothing. As soon, however, as order was restored, I observed that he twice inquired after the state of the patient, and gave orders that he should be properly taken care of. I was extremely pleased with this considerate benevolence; and the dignity of his preceding composure, which is not at all conformable to our European manners.

When the evolutions were over, we rode, accompanied by a band of music, to the Great Riding School, which is inclosed between high walls, open to the sky, but a spacious gallery furnished with divans had been erected for the Viceroy. His Highness seated himself in the Turkish fashion, and again assigned me a place near him, while the military and courtiers as before remained standing round him. Sometimes one and sometimes another of these took the fly-flapper to drive away these troublesome little insects. After pipes and coffee had been introduced, those of the European consuls who were present paid their respects to his Highness; but, before this took place, a little episode intervened, which I must not pass over, though certainly it is not very flattering to my vanity. The great affability of the Viceroy, and a momentary absence of mind on my part, betrayed me into one of those deficiencies in tact which may sometimes happen to men otherwise most cautious in this respect, and which nevertheless are a culpable impropriety. I entirely forgot the persons around me (for in truth, in an oriental court, one is more easily accustomed to look upon them as mere dumb-show figures than in a European court), and equally forgetful that it is

quite against the rule to speak to Mussulmans of the fair sex, I very thoughtlessly told the Viceroy that almost everything in Egypt pleased me greatly, and that much excited my highest admiration; but that, on my journey hither, I had found one thing which his Highness had done which did not please me, namely, that he had so strictly and suddenly forbidden the poor Almehs, who represented a peculiar feature of Egyptian nationality, from continuing their profession of dancing and singing.

The deadly pale countenance of the interpreter, and the terrified looks of those among the company who understood French, instantly made me aware of my blunder, and I felt the blood rush to my face, but there was now no help for it; and the less so as Mehemet Ali, whom nothing escapes, immediately perceived that something extraordinary had occurred, and, turning to Artim Bey, he demanded to know what I had said. Artim Bey (who would otherwise perhaps have made some modification of my words, though it is dangerous for the interpreter to misrepresent the sense of a phrase addressed to the Viceroy), with an embarrassed look, stammered out my unfortunate speech, which I would have given a good sum of money to recal. Yet now I no longer repent of my awkwardness, for but for it I should not have had an opportunity of admiring Mehemet Ali's truly princely behaviour, at a moment which, judging by the manners and customs of the Turks, might really be called critical. Without the slightest change in his countenance, turning to me with his usual friendly smile, he said, "I do not understand this question;

who and what are Almehs?" There was a dead silence. "Ah! ah!" exclaimed he, suddenly, as if recollecting himself, "you doubtless mean the public musicians.* Well, that is a matter which concerns my director of the police, and if he has been harsh towards these people they have probably given him sufficient cause. However, I will inquire into the matter; for I do not recollect that this affair has ever been brought before me." And then he passed, without the least appearance of restraint, to another subject; and, with equal forbearance and delicacy, chose for this purpose my own journey hither, of which I had spoken, earnestly inquiring after various particulars, in order that the offensive impression of what had passed might be the more quickly forgotten.

I have seldom received a more impressive lesson, or one given in a more gentle manner, and, in the sequel, I could never observe that I had lost anything in the favour of Mehemet Ali by this awkward but involuntary error. On the contrary, I had even reason to believe that had I mentioned the matter to him in private, with no witness but the interpreter, an answer would have been unreservedly given; for Mehemet Ali has long since raised himself above many prejudices, not only of his own, but of other nations. Nay, I was perhaps indebted to his noble soul that, after this little humiliation, which he must have seen that I felt, he immediately did me an honour, which I have been assured was never shown

* The Almehs are usually attended by male musicians, who are often summoned, without them, to amuse the company at Turkish entertainments.

to any stranger before me, on a public occasion like this.

When it was announced to him that dinner was served, and I rose to retire with the consuls, he asked me whether I preferred a European repast, such as was dressed for us, or whether I could resolve to try the Turkish manner, and dine *tête-à-tête* with him. It may be easily imagined with what readiness I seized this opportunity gratefully to reply and to observe, in reference to it, that I must, however, fear that I was still too ignorant of Turkish manners, not involuntarily, perhaps, to offend more than once against them, but that the honour offered me was too great for me to decline accepting it at any risk.

I had scarcely said this, when, with the exception of Artim Bey, all the persons who had hitherto stood round us, disappeared. Two servants hung over the breast of his highness and of myself muslin napkins, embroidered with gold, and then, kneeling down, spread similar ones over our knees, other attendant spirits presented large silver basins, full of rose-water, for refreshing ourselves with ablution, while others brought in the table, which was covered with rich gilt plate and many various kinds of dishes. We had some finely carved wooden spoons inlaid with mother-o'-pearl, but neither knives nor forks, and I was obliged to use my fingers in the Turkish fashion. I had no resource but as far as possible to imitate the Viceroy in everything he did, and with the perfect nicety with which he performed this delicate task I should never have imagined, what I afterwards learnt, and indeed had frequent opportunities of seeing, that,

for many years, he has always dined in his palace in the European manner, and only on public occasions follows the old Turkish fashion.

The dinner was admirably dressed, and the Viceroy himself ate with the appetite of a young man. Iced water was presented to us in golden goblets, and excellent claret handed to me. There was a very great variety of dishes, with a singular alternation of sweets, bitters, and animal food, besides a number of cold *hors d'œuvres*, which were placed round the table. An embroidered napkin, besides those which had been before given us, lay near each of us, to wipe our hands upon. In half an hour the pillau, which is always the last dish, announced the end of the Turkish dinner, and was followed by the dessert, for which Shoubra supplies the Viceroy's table with the choicest fruit. A private secretary now entered the room, and presented to the Viceroy a letter from the governor of Soudan, just received from Senaar, which he then read aloud.

The contents related to an expedition ordered by Mehemet Ali in the direction of the still half-fabulous mountains of the Moon, following the course of the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White River, and another along the Bahr-el-Azrak towards Fazoglia, where it is supposed that there are rich gold mines. In order to obtain accurate information respecting these, Mehemet Ali has applied to the Austrian government for ten skilful miners and naturalists, to whom he has granted most generous conditions, and who are already on their way to that distant country; but on account of the difficulties which Europeans experience from the

climate and the foreign mode of living, they have not yet made any great progress. Mehemet Ali manifested a little impatience at this delay, and when coffee was introduced, and the consuls came in again, he took the opportunity urgently to ask M. Laurin, the Austrian consul-general, for his assistance to accelerate an affair which he had much at heart. I remarked, that Philip of Macedon was indebted in a great measure for his success in war, to gold mines which had been discovered, and that the same was the case with the successor of Alexander the Great; and that I heartily wished that his Highness, who inherited so much from his celebrated countrymen, might, in this respect, have the same good fortune as they had. "We must see," replied the Viceroy, "what God will give us. I do not place too much confidence in it, but the favourable indications are not to be neglected."*

We were here interrupted by the renewal of the equestrian exercises, which were executed at intervals before and after our repast, by the most select scholars of the institution, and which were performed in a masterly manner, under the direction of an able riding-master, M. Bier, a German. These exercises consisted of running at the ring, pistol-firing, fencing, leaping, &c. I expressed my surprise at the extraordinary dexterity and precision of the pupils of the school, and asked the Viceroy whether there were any Arabic Fellahs among them? "Oh no," replied he, "they are all Turks;" though he very well knew

* The subsequent result has imperfectly fulfilled the hopes of Mehemet Ali with respect to gold.

that the contrary was the case, and evidently gave this answer to flatter his Turkish courtiers, who stood around, and who, like himself, looked down with contempt upon the Arabs, who, though by far the best soldiers of Mehemet Ali, have not till lately been raised, from sheer necessity, to the lowest rank of officers, but have not been promoted any higher. This is a weak side of Mehemet Ali, which, in some degree, resembles the pride of nobility among us, and has perhaps alone hindered him from acting a far greater part than he has done. If he had, from the beginning, considered himself as a prince, a future caliph of the Arabs, and had known how to unite these immense masses by entire deliverance from the long-endured Turkish yoke, and to fill them with a new-born enthusiasm for his person, his power would have been colossal; whereas now, the Turks, to whom, though a smaller number, he subjects the Arabs, are still half adherents of Constantinople, and, correctly speaking, only follow him in prosperity; in case of a reverse the fidelity of many of them would probably be very questionable.

The institution at Ghizeh has attained such perfection under the indefatigable care of Colonel Warin, and has at the same time acquired such a perfectly European aspect, that, when there, you might really forget that you were in Egypt, and be tempted to yield to the assertion that education and training alone determine the character of nations as well as of individuals. This, however, is indisputable, that here rude Turks and Fellahs, recently taken from slavery, have been transformed into perfect French-

men, at least so far as outward appearances go, and closely resemble them in the minutest national and military manners. And it is very remarkable, that this is even far more the case with them, than with those Egyptians who have been brought up in France, and have received their education while young men in that country; however, it may unquestionably be affirmed of Colonel Warin, that he is made for the post he fills. Even in France his comrades used on that account to call him "*le type de l'officier de l'état major*," and afterwards, in a word, "*le type*." Everything which I here saw convinces me, that however strictly he may respect the form, and perhaps consider it as the main point, he yet by no means neglects the spirit. Many of the plans of situations and positions made by his pupils, which he afterwards showed me, representing engagements, some of which had actually taken place, and others which were imaginary, could not have been more correctly given by the best officers; and I everywhere observed that the mode of instruction followed by the Colonel was calculated to make the pupils not only good horsemen, but excellent soldiers, so far as individual abilities give reason to hope for the attainment of the object.

The Viceroy himself is sensible of this, and it was a delicate attention on his part that he bestowed on Colonel Warin, not *after* the examination, but the day *before*, the dignity of a Bey, which confers not only higher rank, but a considerable increase of pay, and sent him the insignia in large diamonds, expressly stating that this distinction by no means related to any services which the Viceroy still *expected* from

Colonel Warin, but was only the reward for those which he had already performed, and a token of his sincere esteem. Sovereigns who know how to confer favours in so graceful a manner have become rare among us, and for the same reason the pleasure of serving them is diminished. Wasil Bey, for this is now the name of Colonel Warin, has a singular resemblance in his fortunes to the celebrated Allard, now generalissimo in the kingdom of Lahore. They are both natives of the same place, sons of parents in a low condition; both embraced the military profession on the same day; both fought the first duel on the same day; both received the rank of officers on the same day, and had afterwards a long-continued courtship with twin sisters; both were wounded together on the same day; both were obliged to leave France after the fall of Napoleon; and lastly, both found distinction and fortune, though not in an equally brilliant manner, in the service of the two greatest princes of the East now living, Mehemet Ali and Runjeet Singh.*

There is a Frenchman in the institution who has embraced Islamism; he is a man of great talent, and who has kindly undertaken to give orders for a picture which shall in future times recal this day to my mind. It was a remarkable day to me in many respects, and fortune smiled upon me to the very last, for in the evening when the three ladies, of whom I gave a slight sketch at the beginning of this chapter, were about to return home, they found that, by some

* Allard is since dead, and, I believe, Colonel Warin also; whether again both on the same day I do not know.

mistake of the servants, their bark had not been sent for them, so that I could venture to offer them, and some gentlemen in their company, the use of mine. What a scene did my cabin present at this moment! Three sides were occupied by divans, and on each reclined in seductive grace one of the houris of Mahomed's paradise of the faithful: it was not easy to decide which of them had selected the most fascinating attitude.

As the twilight began to steal over us, Maritza took her guitar, and sang the touching *romance* of *La Folle*—once so popular in the *salons* of Paris—at one moment raising the full silvery tones of her voice to the highest pitch of excitement, then slowly melting into painful anguish and pensive grief. She ceased; and it was long ere we ventured to break the stilly silence even by a breath. Soon after we landed at the stairs of my garden, and, as I offered my arm to support the beautiful Maritza, I could not refrain from whispering in her ear: "*Ah de grâce, ne chantez plus La Folle, j'ai trop peur d'en devenir fou.*" At five-and-twenty my fears would perhaps not have been groundless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IBRAHIM PASHA.—POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL.—MANUFACTORIES.

IBRAHIM PASHA had arrived at Cairo a few days after me, but he was suffering from a fistula, which, though it had been skilfully operated upon by Clot Bey, confined him to his bed, and prevented him from receiving visits. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to pass the day upon the sofa of one of his summer-houses, he gave me permission to pay him a friendly visit, free from any ceremony. The hero of Konieh scarcely awakens less curiosity than even his illustrious father. Ibrahim also was unlike the ideal I had formed of him from the representations of others. Yet all are agreed that his intercourse with Europeans has had considerable influence, and softened his former somewhat savage character.

He still bore traces of his recent tedious illness, yet everything bespoke the simple, hardy soldier, who knows but few wants. He has a fine eye, full of character, and a pleasing cheerful manner; but, though free from coarseness, he does not possess the polish and kingly bearing of his father, nor yet his marked and winning courtesy. It is said that he does not like Europeans, but that he most admires the English for their distinguished solid qualities, which are more congenial to his own practical taste than mere outside appearances. In his public conduct

he appeared to me to act as most befits the warrior of renown, observing a due sense of importance without vanity, and a manly modesty as regards his own achievements.

When I told him, that of the most recent military events, none had excited a more general topic of conversation in Europe than his last campaign in Syria against the locusts, he related the circumstances with much humour—how he had opened the attack in person by filling his tarbush with these formidable animals, and throwing the contents into the sea. The whole army, provided with sacks, followed his example, and by bivouacking for three days in the neighbourhood under aggression, they completely attained their object in destroying them. In fact, the preservation of an entire province, which would have been desolated for years, is solely owing to this novel attack of Ibrahim. The accumulation of the locusts thus destroyed amounted to several ships' cargoes.

Ibrahim understands how to employ his soldiers in peace as well as in war, and notwithstanding considerable opposition, in the first instance, on the part of the Turkish officers, he has ordered them to be employed upon roads, canals, and other public constructions. I have already alluded to Ibrahim's passion for agriculture and every species of cultivation, which he pursues with the utmost avidity upon all his own estates. He is also very liberal in helping others to carry on these plans, although he is, on the whole, far more particular than his father, and is what we should call a good landlord. I have often heard him reproached, both in Europe and in Egypt,

with being addicted to drinking. This was certainly true at an earlier period of his life, but he is entirely reformed in this respect; and I know from undoubted authority that, although he is fond of good wine, he is not more so than every wealthy Englishman, and that champagne is his favourite nectar; and in this respect his taste resembles that of the fair sex. He is at present restricted to the water of the Nile, which I much lamented, as he is said to give capital European dinners, and to keep one of the most distinguished French *artistes* in his kitchen. I am not without the merit of rendering some service to his cellar, by furnishing, at his request, his factotum, M. Bonfort, with the addresses of the most famous houses for procuring hock, Hungarian wines, champagne, and Bordeaux—an act which was not altogether without some little egoism on my part, as I hope to enjoy the benefit of it when I visit Syria next year.

Ibrahim was very anxious to understand the organisation of the Prussian *Landwehr*, or militia, which is so erroneously represented by foreigners as a mere national guard; while, in truth, the *Landwehr* constitutes our actual army, for which the lines, if I may so speak, only serve as the preparatory school; for to it are attached all the permanent teachers, as well as the ever-varying recruits, till the whole nation, after passing through this wholesome discipline, attains to the finished soldier.

He at once caught at my explanation, however imperfectly conveyed, and seemed to approve the system; but he clearly discerned that it was not

adapted to oriental modes of government, and that its adoption, even in many European states, would be attended with risk. He expressed his surprise that, notwithstanding this arrangement, the expenses of our army amounted to nearly one half of the revenues of the state; but when I explained, that we were thus enabled, in the event of a war, to take the field in a few weeks with 300,000 to 400,000 men, whereas a standing army of this strength would cost infinitely more than could be raised by the whole country, he did not consider the result purchased at too dear a price; for it seems that Ibrahim Pasha is not one of those who look for an unbroken peace.

His description of the siege of Acre was animated and full of interest, and I was much struck with some of his remarks. Though six or seven of his Turkish generals and superior officers were present, he was exclusive in his commendation of the Arab soldiers, and said:—"It is impossible for any troops in the world to display a spirit of more enduring bravery than mine, and whenever an instance of indecision or cowardice occurred in the army, it was invariably on the part of the Turkish officers; I know of no such example among the Arabs." These words are remarkable as indicating what I had previously heard asserted, that Ibrahim inclines decidedly to the policy which regards the dominion and dynasty of Mehemet Ali as Arabian, a revival of the ancient caliphate; from which alone it expects permanence and greatness, and not in any way as a branch of the Turkish sovereignty.

My own individual opinion coincides with his view

of the case, for the Arabs appear to me a nation endued with perpetual youth, at any period as capable of the most lofty elevation as of relapsing for centuries into a state of nature; while the Turks may justly be denominated a withered nation, whose part in the history of the world is come to an end. Under these impressions, Ibrahim has advanced some of the Arabs in his army to the rank of subaltern officers; yet he has not ventured to proceed any further, though he would doubtless do so at once in the event of a new war. I hail this *penchant* of Ibrahim as a happy omen for the future prosperity of his dynasty; which, I am firmly convinced, cannot be identified too closely with the Arabian nation, in order to give a solid basis to its authority. The Turkish Mamelukes, deriving their descent from various nations, will long continue to be indispensable, as they are, both from power of habit as well as from personal interest, bound by the securest ties to their sovereign; yet a point will be gained if the natives are not excluded from public offices.

After an animated conversation, which lasted an hour, I took leave of the presumptive heir of the kingdom, who saluted me with the utmost good nature in the European fashion, and laying his open hand upon his tarbush. Yet, at the commencement of the audience, a circumstance occurred which threatened a speedy and less agreeable termination to our interview.

As soon as I had taken my seat upon the ottoman, by the side of the prince, coffee was served, and a

pipe presented to the Pasha, but none to myself. In the first flush of conversation this escaped me, but when it suddenly occurred to me I instantly felt myself called upon to notice it, and endeavoured to express in my countenance my sense of the slight. I was silent, and returned no answers to the questions which were addressed to me. The undisguised surprise manifested by Ibrahim at once convinced me that the blame of the omission rested not with him, but solely with his attendants, yet I remained silent, and was about to rise and retire from the kiosk without taking leave, when he perceiving the cause, immediately called aloud for a pipe for me. I at once resumed the conversation where I had broken off, as if nothing had occurred. I was not considered guilty of arrogance or ridiculous vanity—I claim but little as an individual, but whatever distinction had been conceded to me by Mehemet Ali, I had a right to demand from every one of his subjects, even though he were the heir to the throne. In fact, there is no nation to whom we can apply more justly than to the Turks, the sentiment which Goethe puts into the mouth of the worldly-wise Mephistopheles—

> "Mein Freund, das wird sich Alles geben;
> Sobald du dich vertraust, weiszt du gut leben."

You quickly become, in the opinion of others, what you are in your own bearing and estimation, and in none more so than in that of the Turks.

I left Ibrahim at eleven in the forenoon, which gave me ample time to visit various manufactories and the Polytechnic-school during the remainder of

the day. This name, as an imitation of the Parisian institution, is too assuming, and what in itself is commensurate and laudable acquires an air of the ridiculous, as a copy after such a model. It is under the direction of a young man who was educated in England, and he has so thoroughly acquired the language and manners of an Englishman, that I at first took him for a native. This extreme facility in assuming foreign cultivation, learning foreign languages, and making rapid progress in hitherto unknown sciences, is in fact a characteristic quality in the Egyptians; but they must beware lest they too soon regard themselves as having learned their trade. The former beautiful palace of the ill-fated Ismael Pasha is fitted up for the Polytechnic-school, and, like all similar institutions in Egypt, its internal arrangements and management are admirable. I do not pretend to be a competent judge of the studies that are carried on there, nor indeed had I sufficient opportunity for close inspection; I saw, however, some capital drawings, especially in the branch of mechanics, but I was less satisfied with those belonging to the class of the fine arts.

Of the manufactories, some may truly be termed colossal, and no expense has been spared in their erection. Even in England I have scarcely seen more beautiful iron foundries; and one of the cotton factories formed a perfect little town within itself, constructed with the most laudable attention to the health and comfort of the work-people, to which so little regard is had in England. All the most recent improvements have been adopted here, such as dye-

ing by steam, the preparation of steel patterns on the premises, &c. I was astonished at the perfection of the models in brass and wood, which are executed in the factory by native workmen, under the auspices of an Italian, without the assistance of foreigners; but I was yet more astonished at the effrontery with which Europeans had formerly imposed upon the Viceroy, for many models, which are now furnished for a few dollars, have at one time been charged at as many hundreds. The directors showed me one of the most notorious memorials of this imposition—three folio volumes, splendidly bound in morocco, containing nothing more than a number of patterns of printed calico, pasted on paper, such as may be obtained in Europe without the slightest difficulty, either for the mere asking, or at the very lowest possible price. Yet did a house of business not scruple to charge the Viceroy 24,000 francs for these *échantillons*, as a collection of extreme scarcity and value! Can we be surprised if, after such experience of the honesty of European Christians, Mehemet Ali should manifest some repugnance to commercial intercourse with Europe? That he did not allow himself to be deterred by such a commencement, nay, quietly suffered himself to be cheated a hundred times, only that he might the sooner attain his end, which was dearer to him than the money which he sacrificed, was truly magnanimous; and it was, at the same time, the only way in which he could hope to realise his plans of reform during his life-time.

The cloth factories produce a coarse cloth, more durable, cheaper and better dyed than our own; the

finer qualities are inferior to ours; but as they come less within the original intentions of these factories they are only made in small quantities, and this rather for the purpose of showing what they can accomplish if required.

The paper-mills manufacture but one good description of paper, which is strong and highly glazed, such as is universally used by the Turks, and is, therefore, suited to their wants. Europeans are no longer employed in any of the numerous cotton spinneries; and even the most complex of the machinery is either repaired on the spot or replaced by new works: an almost incredible advance in a comparatively short period.

As I am nothing of a merchant, these observations on the factories must suffice.

CHAPTER XIX.

ABOU ZABEL.

I SHALL now proceed to another institution, which is, perhaps, the most extraordinary of all those which owe their origin to the Viceroy. Yet I must first give some account of the remarkable man, without whom it would never have been called into existence.

I was furnished with letters of introduction from the worthy veteran, Sir Sidney Smith, and our celebrated surgeon, Tiefenbach, to their mutual friend, Clot Bey; to this favourable circumstance I am doubtless indebted for much of the polite and cordial attention which I received from General Clot Bey, the head of all the medical institutions in Egypt.

Clot Bey had already offered, in the most obliging manner, to take me over the various departments of his institution at Abou Zabel, but he had hitherto been prevented from fulfilling his promise by his close attendance upon Ibrahim Pasha. The 10th of February was at length fixed for our visit. Accompanied only by my obliging *cicerone*, Mr. Lubbert, and Dr. Koch, physician-general to the staff of the fleet, I repaired at an early hour into the city, to the residence of the General. He conducted us into his library, which contains many objects of natural history; among others a fine specimen of the ibis, whose identity with the ibis of the ancients seems

now to be completely established by the discovery of several very specific hieroglyphic drawings. The court-yard of the house, which opens upon a large garden, contains a very pretty little menagerie of the graceful gazelle, and other rare animals and birds, which may be obtained here with so much facility We chatted away an agreeable half-hour in looking over these curiosities; and when, in the course of conversation, Clot Bey learned, to his great astonishment, that I had never yet travelled with a portable medicine chest, he politely presented me with one, well stored with everything needful in Egypt; it has since been my constant companion, but I am happy to say without being called into much requisition.

We set out at eleven o'clock; Dr. Lubbert and myself in a carriage belonging to the Viceroy, drawn by four horses, Dr. Koch on horseback, and Clot Bey, n order to show us the way, in a small neat gig, built at Cairo by a German saddler. We were soon in the desert, and drove rapidly over the solid sand, without road or track. On our right hand, a portion of the Mokkattam assumed the form of a royal sarcophagus; on our left rose the verdant plantations which M. Bonfort had rescued from the desert. The minarets of the proud metropolis were already merged in the clear azure of the cloudless sky, and before us we beheld nothing but an ocean of sand, which was drifted by the wind into blanched hills of every shifting form.

In about an hour we reached a café, kept by an old Arab, who carried on the noble trade of pillage at the time of the battle of Heliopolis, which was

fought in the vicinity. In this character he took part in the fight—that is, he and his party were stationed near the Mokkatam to plunder friend or foe, as might happen. Nothing could exceed the poetical language of this Arab. "Our leader, Hassan Abassah," said he, "was the lion of the desert. Before the first ray of the sun, his noble steed carried him each morning to combat and danger. Bark, (lightning) of the purest blood of the Nedshdi, bore his name with the deed. As he departed we no longer beheld a horse, we saw only sand: in an instant—and we saw nothing." Is not this Lord Byron?

He recollected Murat at the head of the "French Mamelukes," spoke with reverence of Désaix "the Just," with admiration of Kléber, whom he yet thanks for the booty which he made that day; but his enthusiasm reached its utmost pitch when he spoke of "Abou Napartee." "Sultan Kebir," as Buonaparte is styled in Egypt, "loved the Mussulman, and with the point of a bodkin he might have thrown down all the Mosques. We have heard that he is dead, that he died in the midst of the ocean, and that the Pashas who surrounded him beheld his soul, like a spark of fire, glancing along the edge of his sword."

I pass over the remainder of the enthusiastic relations of this poetic Arab, as every one knows the issue of the battle of Heliopolis, in which Kléber, with his six thousand Frenchmen, defeated seventy thousand Turks. In any case they would have made the old bandit's bad coffee more palatable, and being now sufficiently recruited, we proceeded on foot to the village, which lies on the edge of the Desert, at the

distance of a few thousand paces, with a grove of citron trees in the back-ground. The grove is well called Sacred, for beneath its shade, by the side of a refreshing spring, are the remains of a very ancient sycamore, under which, tradition says, the Holy Virgin rested with the infant Saviour, on their flight into Egypt. The tree is decayed, partly from age and partly from the depredations of the pious, which have been committed for centuries. We could not resist collecting a few of its relics, and cutting some very elegant walking-sticks from the young citron trees, which closely encircle the venerable tree.

We then wandered to the yet more ancient city of Heliopolis. The walls which surrounded the extensive buildings of the Temple of the Sun, may be easily traced; within their inclosure, in a field of barley, rises a beautiful obelisk, sculptured with hieroglyphics, in good preservation, and the cartouches of Osirtesen, who reigned 2000 years before the birth of Christ; —the only remains of this once all famous sanctuary. Near it lies the unpretending farm of Boghos Bey, the Minister of the Viceroy. The whole aspect of the country is barren and dreary, and its uniformity broken only by a few palm trees.

We had ordered our carriages to meet us here, but as we could not find them, we were forced to spend a most fatiguing hour in looking for them. We however, amused ourselves in collecting many beautifully marked pebbles, which have been carried hither by some vast inundation; we also came unexpectedly upon the encampment of the caravan from Tunis, proceeding to Mecca. I was pleased to see once

more the rich costume of the Moghrebines, as they are called here; and by a singular coincidence, I met among them a Moor of my acquaintance. As the proverb says, "Mountains and valleys quit not their places, but men may meet:" such recognitions in far distant lands are always attended with a degree of pleasure, however indifferent the person may be to us in other respects.

We were much retarded by the long search after our attendants, and it was night, with a cloudy European sunset, ere we reached Abou Zabel. For to-day, therefore, we could think only of repose and refreshment, which Clot Bey had provided in the greatest profusion.

On the following morning the General introduced to me the masters of the institution, many of whom have been educated in the school; after the pupils of the adjoining music-school at Kaukah had saluted me with an agreeable musical treat, I commenced my *tournée.* Nothing can be more complete and appropriate than the whole of this institution, to which the only drawback is its distance from the capital. This, however, was indispensable at the commencement, as the whole undertaking, especially the departments of anatomical dissections, midwifery, &c., were so utterly abhorrent to the religious prejudices of the Mussulmans, that it would have been impolitic to bring them too immediately under their notice; and even now, probably nothing but the stern will of Mehemet Ali, and the unwearied exertions of Clot Bey, can gradually reconcile the nation to that which is the most repulsive to their feelings. Hopes are

entertained that the time is not far distant when the government can venture upon more decided measures; in that case, it is surmised, that an exchange will be effected between Abou Zabel and Kasr-el-Ain. Such a step would be attended with considerable advantage to both institutions, whose respective localities are greatly in favour of this arrangement, because the Medical Academy and hospital are certainly more appropriate and useful in the capital, while the rural retirement and distance from the distractions of Cairo are better suited to the schools. Yet years must elapse before Kasr-el-Ain can attain that perfection in medical science for which the institution at Abou Zabel is already so greatly distinguished.

Abou Zabel stands upon the site which was occupied by the head-quarters of the Grand Vizier, during the battle of Heliopolis, the spot where it was finally decided. Its clean and neat buildings contain several court-yards, planted with trees; the university buildings, properly so called, form a large quadrangle, the centre of which is appropriated to a magnificent botanical garden, abounding in fountains of gushing water.

The kitchen occupies an isolated position in the middle of this square. I did not learn the object of this arrangement, whether for the purpose of excluding unpleasant culinary odours from the dwellings, lecture-rooms, and sick wards, or broadly to mark the distinctions between the animal and the intellectual; or, possibly, it may have originated in the practice of the well-known French physician, who,

on his first summons to the house of a wealthy patient, was wont, as a preliminary step, to give a liberal fee to the cook, as his best purveyor to the sick.

Yet, whatever my ignorance may be in regard to the kitchen, I must not neglect to bestow the higher encomium upon the dispensary—the most elegant, fragrant, and complete which I have ever seen; it has a large laboratory connected with it, and various collections, which are interesting even to the uninitiated; for instance, specimens of every description of tea and coffee, arranged in richly cut glass cases, and an assemblage of such delicious perfumes, and costly essences, that a confectionery itself could scarcely offer greater attractions. Only drugs of the finest qualities are permitted to be used; and the same strict attention to order, cleanliness, and discipline prevails here, as in the wards of the hospital. An attendant who is found guilty of the slightest omission is instantly punished; and on a repetition of the offence, he is put in chains—a mode of punishment which has been substituted by Clot Bey, as more humane and efficacious than the kurbatch, or bastinado upon the soles of the feet, which is customary in this country.

The institution contains a small cabinet of natural history, and a fine collection of anatomical preparations, which represent with the utmost fidelity the minutest detail of the wonderful fabric of the human body; and the magazines for stores of all descriptions are amply provided. Many of the arrangements appeared to be new, and worthy of imita-

tion; thus the walls of the various lecture-rooms are carefully painted, not with useless ornaments, but with a chart of the heavens, the planetary system, mathematical figures, an immense map of the world, &c., which must produce a lasting impression, from being always before the eyes of the pupils.

Our eyes, however, encountered in the same saloon a far less attractive spectacle—the dissection of a very offensive body. No Mussulman could have turned away in more thorough disgust from this nevertheless useful subject than I did; and the sight haunted me up the stairs into the dormitories. In lieu of the tables and bedsteads used at Kasr-el-Ain, Clot Bey has fitted up niches and cupboards against the walls, which occupy less space and are at the same time more secure and durable. I noticed that the beds were regularly covered in the alternate dormitories with white and gray blankets. On my asking whether this had any meaning, Clot Bey answered, laughing, "None, save my love of order. I was supplied with the coverlets of the two colours, but felt annoyed by the want of uniformity which they occasioned; hence the present arrangement; but," added he, "I had a good deal of trouble to make my Arab inspector understand it. He was perpetually saying, 'Why this useless trouble?—will the young people be more warmly covered?'" A very national reply.

The whole of the quadrangle has a broad, flat, terrace roof, which forms a delightful promenade in the cool of the day; the interior overlooks the varied foliage of the botanical garden, while the farther side commands other planted court-yards, with the

white, shifting sand-hills of the Desert beyond them. The lectures are often delivered on these terraces.

We next repaired to the neat amphitheatre, which is not inferior to the one at Montpellier, to attend the lecture on experimental physics. The seats were occupied by Arab students, dressed in uniform, and wearing broad white straps round the waist, fastened with large metal plates. I think it must be owing to these plates, combined with the humidity of the atmosphere to-day, that not one of the electrical experiments proved successful. The instruction was carried on very ingeniously, in the following manner :—

The lecture was given by a French professor in his own language, and translated, sentence by sentence, into their native tongue by an Arabian professor, who had been educated at Paris ; this was a task of no ordinary difficulty in subjects of pure science, as he was required to render many technical expressions into a less cultivated language ; indeed, it seemed to cost the young man some trouble, to judge by the perspiration which flowed down his face.

At one time the Arabs could boast of the most renowned physicians in the world—they will be indebted to Clot Bey should they ever attain a second epoch of fame. He has himself set them an example, and performed several operations, in which no one had hitherto been successful. At the same time, it must be recorded to his honour, that he does not derive pecuniary advantages from the majority of these operations—nay, sometimes he even pays his needy patients. One man, whom he relieved of an

enormous tumour, weighing 120lbs., brought an action of damages against him. He was a sort of buffoon, and employed his monstrous deformity as a means of raising alms in the coffee-houses and other places of amusement. He accused Clot Bey of depriving him of this source of gain, and demanded a pension, which the generous surgeon did not refuse.

Near Abou Zabel, and connected with it, is a repetition of nearly a similar arrangement of buildings, for the purposes of a veterinary school. It was again my misfortune to stumble upon the dissection of a putrid horse, which was yet more intolerable than the human subject. Instead, therefore, of waiting for the completion of the toilette of the worthy director, who hastily plunged into the waters of a fountain, that he might do the honours of the institution, I hastily retreated to the department of midwives, in another section of the establishment.

This institution of Arabian midwives, among whom were many very pretty young women, is under the direction of a Parisian *demoiselle*, who fills the office of professor. To one of the unlearned, there was something excessively ridiculous in the precision and confidence with which this *demoiselle* explained the mysteries of her art; but the subsequent examination of the Arab peasant girls proved that they possessed quite as much learning *in puncto puncti*, far beyond what I could ever have hoped to attain. One of them, who was scarcely fourteen, placed herself on a stand before a large skeleton, first explained every bone, then the circulation of the blood, finally, the various gradations of the embryo, and all this with

more readiness than most girls of her age in Europe would read off a washing bill. Clot Bey was so enraptured with her erudition that he presented her with a gold coin. After a long examination in the theory, they concluded by giving practical proofs of their skill upon an artificial preparation; and, to the honour of the institution, it must be confessed that the accomplished experience of the Parisian *demoiselle* was but rarely called for, even in the most critical moments.

With so much of the ludicrous in these exhibitions, at which M. Lubbert's stealthy *bon mots* raised an ill-suppressed laugh, it would be unjust to deny their extreme utility, or the beneficial influence of Clot Bey, to whose superior understanding even the Ulemas have cheerfully yielded their deep-rooted prejudices. "*Il n'y a que des mauvais sujets comme nous, qui rient de tout*," said I to M. Lubbert, quoting Voltaire, and entreated him not to get me into a scrape, for Clot Bey, who is as fiery as gunpowder, and the Parisian *demoiselle*, who did not understand a joke, began to perceive our stifled mirth with evident displeasure.

Well, all life terminates in death, and every day with a dinner. Though Clot Bey, when he dines by himself, is never more than a few minutes at table, yet he knows how to act the patient and courteous guest when he entertains *gourmands*, and to give zest to his excellent fare by the most agreeable conversation. The arrival of the venerable Archbishop and Patriarch of the Catholic Greeks, from Damascus, attended by four priests, added another and interesting guest to our party. He is a very fine hale old

man, possessing the corpulency of a *bon vivant*, and the animated good-humoured look of a wily Italian. While discussing a bottle of champagne, in which he pressed me to join, he explained to me the points on which the Greek schismatics dissent from the true Greek Church. I think he said there were five articles, all of equal importance. For instance, purgatory; which the schismatics, as the venerable Patriarch justly observed, deny only in words, for they recognise it practically by reading mass. Then they will not tolerate saints, either male or female, which he deemed impious; and thirdly, they prefer leavened to unleavened bread, which must be very nauseous. I do not recollect the two other controverted points, but we may judge from those that have been cited, how utterly impossible it is that two such diametrically opposite sects should ever live on terms of peace!

I received great honour in the course of the conversation, for I was the first person who apprised the Patriarch and his suite of the existence of the sacred Tree of the Virgin, which this prelate of the church, mounted on his white palfrey, had passed in the utmost unconsciousness. Immediately on hearing of the tradition from my secular lips, he resolved to atone for his omission by extraordinary devotion on the morrow.

We parted from our obliging host with many good wishes.

CHAP. XX.

DEPARTURE.—THE PYRAMIDS.

BELOVED and much honoured German reader!

Permit me to avail myself of this favourable opportunity to send thee a respectful salute from the summit of the loftiest Pyramid at Ghizeh. Beyond the boundless verdant Delta, which now glows in evening twilight—beyond the azure main, which in the far, far distance laves this Delta—and in fine, beyond all the other sunny lands which are washed yon side by this beauteous sea, where thou art rejoicing in thy fruitful, temperate clime—think of me with the same complacency with which I think of thee, and cease not to manifest thy wonted magnanimous leniency towards the many short-comings of thy faithful correspondent, although an English-Scottish review has assured thee, with profound gravity, that I have only once been worthy of appearing in an *English* dress. And across this desert waste, which so dreamily and wearily embraces the loveliest verdure, I greet you also, ye valiant champions who have voluntarily broken so many a lance for that distant friend whom the East has for years held in tender, pleasing thraldom.

Yet, as a true Christian, I greet you too, ye unrelenting foes, who are so nearly akin to the scorched and arid waste around me. Both well-known and

anonymous, I greet you, ye highwayman critics; and more especially you, ye demure souls on the sterile banks of the Spree, who would so gladly throw its dust into the eyes of the worthy German public, and have hitherto been defeated in your purpose, only because they have always been so uncivil as to turn their back upon you. And now, having made peace with my native land, I turn towards the east, and permit my enraptured eye to rest on Old Father Nile, and Cairo's innumerable palaces and towers, surmounted by the Mokkatam's gorgeous, frowning castle. And there I greet thee—thee, Mehemet Ali—the mighty, the restorer of the civilisation of Egypt, the creator of a happier futurity for millions, and the most enlightened son of the East.

And just below my feet I salute the Sphinx,* which, though mute for thousands of years, still speaks so loudly to us of past glory and greatness—of wonders which are too incredible for our times—of enigmas which nobody has yet entirely solved; though an inspired Frenchman, whom death has too soon snatched away, commenced so victoriously to raise the veil.

And looking up to the stars, which begin slowly to penetrate the coming twilight, I lastly salute thee, Posterity; thou wilt know more than we do, at least of the past, if not of the future, and perhaps wilt establish one of thy professional chairs at the foot of the same pyramid, from the summit of which, as Napoleon expressed it, "forty centuries look down upon us." "The world is a wheel," as Mehemet Ali

* Herod. ii., 175.

says, and he who can maintain his place upon it as long as the Pyramids, may, perhaps, when the revolution is accomplished, see the same relations again, as nothing is to be apprehended for the material preservation of these strange monuments for centuries to come, unless, indeed, the English antiquary should finally blow them up, out of love to art. We have just seen one of the most zealous amateurs, who daily employs some hundred Bedouins to bore the patient monuments, at all corners and angles; even the Sphinx is pierced by the help of a rod, in order to discover whether it is solid or hollow in its body, as unhappily too many living statues are in their head. The instruments, however, prove too weak; one of them breaks after another, and at present the advantage in this violent conflict is on the side of the victorious monuments. They lose, indeed, a few stones on the field of battle, but the enemy still stands impotent, and their secret recesses are closed against him. But joking apart, I have confidence in the gallant and worthy Colonel Howard Vyse, and that by his perseverance and acuteness, he, sooner than many others, will at length make important discoveries; every stranger must certainly be grateful that he employs a portion of his workmen in clearing the rubbish out of the passages in the two largest Pyramids, and thus renders them in some degree accessible to the antiquary. He has found some hitherto unknown small chambers, and even hopes that he is not far from discovering a large apartment, under the supposed royal tomb. It will, however, now be better to begin my narrative at the beginning.

His Highness the Viceroy had already set out on foot the night before for Upper Egypt, where he had the goodness to say he would expect me, as I was not quite ready to accompany him. I could not, however, venture to delay any longer, and therefore reserved, till my return, the inspection of everything that I had still to see in Cairo. On the 21st of February I left the capital, accompanied by Dr. Koch, nephew of the celebrated physician of Munich, of the same name, and physician to the general staff of the Egyptian fleet, whom Mehemet Ali had had the goodness to give to me as my travelling Esculapius. Dr. Koch and I were both very conveniently quartered in two good canjas, with which the government had, with its usual munificence, furnished me. My small suite consisted, besides the Doctor and his servant, of a kawass of the Viceroy, my dragoman Giovanni, my valet de chambre Ackermann, a Greek page from Candia, named Jannis, an Arabian cook, who understands something of the French culinary department, and a young Abyssinian slave; and in order to render the inevitable *ennui* attending on a long journey by water, even along the classic banks of the Nile, rather less monotonous, I took care not to go unprovided with objects of interesting study and amusement with me on board.

Colonel Warin having very kindly invited us to partake of a cheerful farewell repast at Ghizeh, we accordingly set out thither.

It was not till the following morning that I took leave of the most friendly of all hosts, in a garden planted by himself; for Colonel Warin loves, like Cincinnatus, to gain with careful hand from the

earth its most precious and innocent treasures; and is, besides, as learned a botanist as he is an able soldier. I here admired a number of plants with which I was entirely unacquainted, such as a young specimen of a gigantic tree from Kourdafan, which had grown from the seed in one year to the height of several ells; the sensitive acacia, with its fine flavour; the crimson orange, from Shoubra, a shrub, the flowers of which, resembling the rose in their form, are white in the morning, pink at noon, and blue in the evening;—like the state coat of the late conjuror Beyris, at Brunswick, and many other characters.

Amidst these flowers I took leave of my kind and intelligent *cicerone*, M. Lubbert, which was equally painful to me. Truly, if the word amiable did not exist, it must be invented for M. Lubbert's sake. Young and Old France are blended in him as we do not often find them; and though he is out-and-out a Frenchman, he displays only the agreeable side of that nation. The most flattering politeness, and even cheerful spirits, an inexhaustible fund of conversation, the art of relating as well as of listening, a sprightly wit, without gall or too much *médisance*, united with the most delicate tact, and the self-possession of the great world, render M. Lubbert one of the most agreeable companions that I know; and I heartily regret that I am not a great man, to attach him for ever to my person. M. Lubbert, who occupies an important sphere of action here, and has lately been appointed historiographer of Egypt, filled in France, as I have

already said, the office of a *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi;* but at the same time had the direction of the royal theatres, under the nominal minister, as long as Charles X. reigned; an office which frequently brought him into familiar contact with the royal family and with the whole court, and gave him opportunities which furnished him with an ample fund of the most piquant anecdotes. A person who can at pleasure stand behind the scenes of a court and of a theatre, sees much in various points of view; and no person is better aided by his memory and versatility than M. Lubbert, continually to season his conversation with reminiscences of this sort. The sudden transition from the manager of a theatre to the post of historiographer and councillor, in the department of the interior, seems rather a venturous leap; but as the theatre is the mirror of the world, and the world itself is only a theatre on a larger scale, he will be able, as an able man, to make his way in his new sphere, and likewise as director of the military school at Tourah.

Before we finally quitted Ghizeh we crept into a hot oven, in order to see eggs hatched by art (I beg the reader not to be apprehensive that I shall give him a description of it); and, after viewing this chicken manufactory, we inspected another in which sal ammoniac is prepared, and then went into the boundless fields of clover, which were waving in the fresh wind; the fields were animated by all the horses and asses of the neighbourhood, which are sent at this season to grass for many months, and there with

their feet tied together are left to themselves to eat without interruption: this is one of the most injurious and foolish customs of the East, of which I shall say more hereafter. The way appeared long, for the pyramids deceive one in a remarkable manner in regard to their true distance. You imagine, even at Cairo, that they are close at hand; and when you are at Ghizeh, you must travel for several leagues further before you reach them.

At the border of the Desert we were received by half-a-dozen Bedouins, who importuned us to take them for guides; and though we assured them that we did not want more than two of them, it was impossible to get rid of them. My eyes at once eagerly sought for the colossal Sphinx, which was entirely cleared a few years ago, but has since been again buried by the sand up to the neck, so that only its head is now to be seen. Its features are clearly discernible in the distance; but, near at hand, mutilated as it is, it becomes a shapeless mass, on which, however, a great part of the red paint, with which it was once covered, is still preserved. In its present state it looks more like a mushroom than a head, and rather lowered my expectations, which were raised too high. I must also honestly confess, that the pyramids themselves did not make a much more favourable impression on me, and did not appear nearly so imposing close by as at a distance; a fate which often attends great men on earth, as well as these gigantic pyramids. On ascending them there is a change in this respect, but not in the degree which I expected; and if a comparison

can make the thing more plain, I must say that the cathedral of Strasburg, for instance, both at its foot and at its summit, produced a far more powerful effect on my feelings.

It was already too late to-day for any further researches. Having, therefore, arranged a lodging in a cavern, which served for the foundation of another little pyramid long since destroyed, and pitched our tents round about it—(close to the sandy ravine at its entrance, in the midst of the Desert, four palms and three sycamores are still standing)—we contented ourselves, for this evening, with a total impression of all we had seen, however scanty it was. I only looked down into some mummy pits, from fifty to sixty feet deep, and considered the sarcophagi of green granite, covered with many hieroglyphics, which had been brought up, and were now lying about in pieces; then paid a visit to Colonel Vyse, who has already introduced some comfort into the most habitable of the catacombs, and erected a little colony, elegantly fenced in with barriers of reeds; and then, by the light of the stars, fell quite wearied into the kind arms of Morpheus, full of expectation of what the next day might bring forth.

The consuls of Austria and France, with Messrs. Linant and Cavillia, had intended to accompany us, but they all gave us the slip. A courier had summoned M. Lesseps to Alexandria; the death of Madame Champion detained M. Laurin at Cairo; M. Linant had to attend to his dam; and Captain Cavillia, as I suppose, to wait for his familiar spirit; for he had suddenly set out upon a journey without

telling anybody about it. The only companion who now remained to us was, however, a very great original; an old man eighty years of age, half blind, but still more vigorous in the endurance of fatigue than many a young man; and so thoroughly acquainted with the pyramids and catacombs, that one might fancy he had passed his whole life in the obscurity of these mysterious habitations.

This singular old man, who perfectly resembles a pair of Egyptian nut-crackers, never sleeps even in his own dwelling at Cairo, except in the open air, whatever the state of the weather may be; a *régime* to which he is probably indebted for the lamentable condition of his red swollen eyes. His dress is thoroughly Arabian, that is, he is half-naked, wearing a large shirt with sleeves, and slippers, and in case of need, a cloak thrown over him; this is all. He has had a coffin made for himself, on which he takes his dinner once a month, as a singular *memento mori*. With respect to other earthly matters, he is nominally interpreter to the French Consulate; that is, without any actual duties, and at the same time deals, without making extravagant pretensions, in antiquities of all kinds. His name is Msarra, as he pronounces it: whether he is a Christian or a Mussulman, I really forgot to inquire; at all events he is a philosopher, for he bears the evils of this world with great patience, and does not fear death. He is, however, chiefly known in the world, from his having accompanied my revered friend General Minutoli, when he opened the great Pyramid of Sakkarah, a subject about which it is rather dangerous to lead him to speak, for when

he once begins, he never ends. Msarra insisted that we should first of all visit a shaft discovered by him, at the bottom of which there is a sarcophagus of rose-coloured granite, which the new owner of it would be happy to exchange for a much less weight in metal, and I half complied with his desire, that is, I looked, and crept, and stretched out my limbs, but I did not purchase.

I then left the old man at the foot of the smallest pyramid, in order to ascend it. It is built with larger blocks of stone than any of the others, and is in part still ornamented with marble and granite facings, and seems to have been in general the most elegant, though the smallest, of the whole group. It is that of which Herodotus relates the well-known fable of the king's daughter, and the ascent to the very summit is by no means difficult. The endeavours to reach its sanctuary have hitherto proved unavailing; though Colonel Vyse has already, with incredible labour, penetrated a small opening fifty feet deep, on the north side, the desired result is not yet accomplished. Preceding attempts to find an entrance on other sides have likewise failed: sometime ago an Arab offered to disclose to Msarra the real entrance for 1000 piastres, which he affirmed was made known to him by tradition.

The acceptance of the proposal was delayed too long, and when they had made up their mind to avail themselves of it, they found that the Bedouin had died in the meantime. For my own part, I believe, from what I have observed, that it is all labour in vain to make any attempts in this manner, and that

the real exalted personages in whose honour these sepulchral monuments were erected, are not to be looked for within, but always below them.* The same may be said of the largest as of the smallest; and, if the first is really, either the tomb of Pharaoh Souphis, according to Champollion, or of Cheops, according to Herodotus, the small unadorned chambers discovered in it, in which the two great sarcophagi stand, were certainly no royal sepulchres, but only those of subordinate persons or priests, and the venerable old king remains undisturbed where Herodotus indicates, that is, in the centre of the rock, over which the gigantic stone tumulus was afterwards erected; for, after all, these rude beginnings of art, without sculpture, and without hieroglyphic writings, were nothing more than tumuli of stone, though, at the time of Herodotus, they were again surrounded with the ornaments of art, (which had improved in the meantime,) with temples, sphinxes, colossi, courts, and avenues, all of which had hieroglyphics, while the primeval monuments were left with religious awe in their original simplicity.† Nay, it is not impossible, that several of the insignificant, low, narrow passages and chambers, which are so entirely out of proportion to the immense masses of stone, that there is scarcely

* In fact, a sarcophagus without hieroglyphics has since been found in the ground, under the pyramid, but it was empty and damaged, and therefore the sanctuary must long since have been profaned by persons looking for treasures.

† The hieroglyphics, said to have been lately discovered by Colonel Vyse, in the interior of the Great Pyramid, are not carved in the stone, but only traced, as with a finger dipped in paint, and have perhaps been lately pencilled on the wall.

room in them either to kneel or to lie down, were scooped and built in the pyramids for certain purposes of the priests, as shafts are driven into the rocks, and, as we ourselves have of late seen undertaken by the English in these colossal monuments, though less systematically, and with inferior means.

The prospect from the summit of the small pyramid is indeed very inferior to that from the great pyramid, but the disposition of the various courts and avenues, as well as the position of many ruined buildings in the neighbourhood, are best seen from hence. Of five smaller pyramids that stand in a row immediately before the small one, three are in a tolerable state of preservation; one of them rises in broad steps or platforms, whereas in all the others the layers of stone are indeed placed one above the other in such a manner as to facilitate the ascent, but, compared with the whole mass they are low and narrow, and far too much dilapidated to afford to the eye the effect of regular steps; and, therefore, the pyramids, when you are near them, look almost like rudely piled up conical masses of stone, in which scarcely a trace of regular masonry is discernible.

This very materially diminishes the grand effect which the impression of the whole is calculated to produce. When they were still covered with smooth hewn stones, and with shining stucco (as a small portion of the summit of the second pyramid still remains), and in this manner presented immense level surfaces on every side, and the lower buildings standing near afforded a criterion of their gigantic elevation, they must undoubtedly have had a more

imposing effect. Now, I repeat it, they disappoint even moderate expectation; but the exterior of the pyramids disappoints you even less than the mean, winding passages made only for serpents and jackals in the interior, as well as the insignificant, useless, bare chambers of the two great pyramids, which appear quite absurd by being so low.

As soon as we had descended from "the little pyramid," as it is called, for indeed it is still an enormous mass, we proceeded into the bowels of the largest. The rude, but boldly constructed colossal entrance, resembling a work of the Druids, is the only part which produced an effect of grandeur upon me; for, as I have observed, passages in which you can scarcely turn, except bent like a fiddle-bow, nor penetrate unless by crawling on your chest, and, after all your pains, lead at length into a sanctuary, which consists only of a couple of miserable dark chambers, of the dimensions of a servants' room, the walls of which are covered with dusky slabs of granite, once polished but now quite dull, without a trace of writing, ornament, or sculpture, appeared to me to be as little worthy of admiration as the two plain stone coffins which are here seen, and least of all for one who has beheld the sublime art of the Egyptians and its real wonders in Thebes. The latter, it is true, were at this time unknown to me; yet, without the comparison, the first impression on me was no other than I now describe; and as I am no learned archæologist who looks for discoveries, I endeavour only to give the reader a true and intelligible picture of the whole, conformably to the individual impression which

it produced on me, and which is generally wanting in the accounts given by the learned.

With my usual perseverance I went through all that has been opened, and afterwards by means of ladders crept into the holes which have been partly discovered of late, and partly at a time already forgotten (for instance, what is called David's son's chamber). All this is very fatiguing and heating, but not at all dangerous, except perhaps the descent into the well, 280 feet deep, merely by means of notches cut into the wall, from what is called the hall of the Queen, who perhaps was only a lady of the court, to the lowest passage, which constantly declines, and terminates in a natural cavern in the rock, near the middle of the pyramid, and actually in its very foundation. On the opposite side, another narrow horizontal passage leads from this cave still farther towards the centre, and then suddenly terminates. Here perhaps is the key to what is more deep and unknown. At this spot I think active research should be made, for here the king must lie, if indeed there is a king here, in the heart of the rock, formerly surrounded by a canal drawn from the Nile, as the father of history describes it, without indeed having seen it himself, and given us no other security than the questionable authority of the priests.

The air-holes which are found in the wall, in the room called "the hall of the King," have been followed for above one hundred feet, as we were assured; and Colonel Vyse is of opinion that he has discovered their issue above, but all this is extremely unimportant.

It was many hours before we had worked our way

out of the sepulchral cavern, and greeted the balmy air, and sank wearied to death on the gigantic blocks at the entrance; and here we ate oranges and drank coffee, and felt ourselves so astonishingly refreshed by this judicious *intermezzo*, that I, boldly casting my eye upwards, attained my object to-day on the outside also, that is to say, reached shortly before sunset the top of the pyramid, which is five hundred feet high. We easily gained the summit in fifteen minutes, delighted by one of the most glorious prospects, or at least one of the most peculiar, though it resolves itself into a few great masses. The Desert, which wore a roseate tinge, with more than fourteen large pyramids, namely, those of Ghizeh itself, and then those of Abousir, Sakkarah, and Dashour, most of them at a highly favourable distance, is not the least attractive object in this triple union of city, verdant plain, and ocean of sand. We observed that within four years, when Dr. Koch was here for the first time, it seemed that, according to his account of what it then was, a large portion of the desert towards the pyramids, must have been cultivated; which was very discernible from the colour of the earth, for the new arable land under the green, looked still sandy and of a bright colour, whereas the old land was only dark black mould. Thus modern cultivation will again call into existence flourishing fields and gardens close up to the ancient monuments, as was doubtless the case in the early ages, for, though the ancient Egyptians always liked to place the necropolis on the border of the desert, as a beautiful emblem, yet I do not believe that they

designedly erected them in the midst of the sand. The desert has, of course, first swallowed up the monuments nearest to it, on the decline of civilisation; and the tombs of the caliphs, near Cairo, are now also in the desert, though we know for certain, that at the time of their erection they were surrounded with fine gardens and orange-groves. We must not ascribe to so sensible and far advanced a nation as the Egyptians were, anything so absurd as it would have been to erect their sublimest monuments, the tombs of all their cities, so remotely as in the middle of the desert, as they in part now appear. These monuments, as genuine symbols of death, were rather placed at the borders of the living verdure; and beyond them, began the mysterious, boundless, unknown desert.

My companions found the descent much more difficult, and more giddy, than the ascent. I was of a different opinion; and as I was the last to gain the summit, so I was now the first to reach the bottom much before the rest, for it is troublesome to climb up steps three feet high, but to jump down in regular time is a real pleasure, which agreeably reminds old people, such as I am, of the days of their boyhood. The whole affair is in fact a mere trifle for all who know how to make use of their legs; a bold climber might safely lay a wager to ascend the great pyramid three times in one day; and a man must be more timid than an old woman, to find anything dangerous in it. The case is rather different with the second pyramid, which we ascended on the following morning, especially close to the smooth

summit. It is within a few feet as high as what is called the Great Pyramid, but of smaller circumference at its base, and consequently more steep, and the steps are much more damaged than those of the Great Pyramid.

It was easy to perceive, on reaching the top, from the almost total absence of inscriptions of modern names, that very few persons have visited it, yet some have climbed even over the smooth part to the very pinnacle. This, however, is not practicable except by means of ladders tied together, and with many preparations. It is said that a French soldier, when Napoleon visited the Pyramids, ascended to the very summit with the assistance only of his own limbs. This must have been the Mazurier, otherwise I cannot easily believe it. However this may be, I myself ascended as high as ordinary *dilettante* can do without artificial help; and there I carved, on one of the smooth slabs, the title, Christian and surnames, of my beloved Julia, as M. de Chateaubriand caused his to be inscribed by proxy on the Great Pyramid; but those of my friends who know the decided aversion to all locomotion, especially to ascending an eminence, even a single pair of stairs, which the above-mentioned amiable lady has always had, as she is used to no other motion than that of sitting, lying and walking, will certainly be not a little surprised to find her here set down as a decided mountain-climber, in a place where only eagles and vultures are wont to rest! Thus I have inscribed a little private enigma on the mysterious monument.

The inside of the second pyramid was opened by

Belzoni. The passages are a little more convenient, the chambers more numerous, and some rather larger than in the sister pyramid, equally bare and unornamented, and the object of this laborious fox's-burrow equally inconceivable. An area, hewn in the living rock, surrounds this monument, and it appears from the stones of the floor, all ready to be broken up, that it was intended to go deeper. On the smoothed, outer walls of the rock of this area, some hieroglyphics of ancient, though more of recent time, are observed, and likewise a cartouche of the great Rameses. Several remains of buildings, near the hollowed places, show cyclopean walls, exactly in the style of the great wall in the Pnyx, at Athens, and quite different from the style of the pyramids themselves. In the ruins of the avenue which led to this pyramid, are the largest blocks employed here, which are inferior only to those of Thebes.

The clear weather enticed me in the evening once more to the summit of the Great Pyramid, as it were, to take leave; and on this second visit, I could not help thinking, that a colossus must have stood on the platform at the top, as on the similar monument in the lake Mœris, though Herodotus says nothing of it. As I was on the point of mounting my horse on the following morning, to proceed on my journey, Colonel Vyse sent me word that he had at that moment discovered a new entrance into the second pyramid, for this indefatigable man is working on all three at the same time. I found this to be correct; but as this low entrance only joins an inner passage, already known, little is gained by it, and I heartily wish that

the worthy colonel may soon obtain a more brilliant result for his industry, his perseverance, and his money.

M. Cavillia, who had discovered, close to the pyramid, a singular labyrinth of apartments and passages, the plan and object of which he had not yet been able to make out, assured me at Cairo, that at a distance of some leagues in the Desert, he had discovered the foundations of pyramids, the granite blocks of which were, for the most part, crumbled into dust; whence he inferred, that if the pyramids built of sand-stone, which are still standing, are 4000 or 5000 years old, those of granite, which are now pulverised, must have been built at least ten times as far back. The little detention before-mentioned hindered me from seeing this remarkable dust with my own eyes.

As I prosecuted my way through the monotonous desert, I was almost angry with myself for being excited to a greater degree by more than one Gothic edifice of the middle ages, than by these celebrated wonders of the world; just as in earlier years the Pantheon at Rome appeared to me grander than St. Peter's church, which is twenty times as large. But I was not wrong—the triumph of art must be higher than that of mere massiveness; however, when cool reflection comes to our aid, we cannot help being astonished at these masses, with which the caprice of a king attempted to bid defiance to eternity. The three pyramids of Ghizeh contain 4,693,000 cubic metres, whence it appears that with the stones of these monuments a wall one foot thick, nine feet high, and about 1400 leagues in length, might be

built; that is, for instance, from Alexandria across Africa, to the coast of Guinea.

Among the six Bedouins, who, during the three days that we had passed here, had remained our faithful shadows, there was one of the handsomest men that I ever saw—the perfect image of a Hercules—who, when he threw off his light garment in the vapour-bath of the royal hall, and there stood naked in the light of the torch, would have thrown any artist into ecstacies. I am a lover of beauty in every shape, and therefore endeavoured to engage him in my service; which, however, was very difficult, because he had a wife and children and considerable property. He, however, at length resolved to accept it for high wages, the first month of which he demanded beforehand. But the character of the Bedouin is not made to serve. The gigantic fellow, who ate as much as six other men, could never be induced to do the least regular work—just like a child; and as I do not want to keep people merely for show, I gave him notice, in a fit of displeasure at his laziness, that he must either work like other servants or immediately leave the boat. He, notwithstanding showed little inclination to attend to the warning, upon which I positively ordered him to go; this, to my astonishment, he likewise refused to do, so that I was actually obliged to desire the kawass to have him thrown perforce out of the boat if he did not go within five minutes, for which, by-the-bye, a dozen men would have been necessary.

A Turkish officer, and a servant of his Highness, is so much the terror of all Arabs, that the giant Ali

immediately complied. I of course considered the month's wages that I had paid beforehand as lost, but was not a little surprised to learn from my dragoman, on the following morning, that the Bedouin had conscientiously returned him three-quarters of the money which he received, retaining only the wages for the week that he had been in my service. This trait appeared to be worth noting down, though it will hardly be much admired by the serving classes in Europe, from the privy-councillor down to the shoeblack.

After proceeding several hours, constantly passing over sand hills quite covered with sea-pebbles,—many of which resembled those which the credulous ancients took for petrified beans and linseeds,—left by the workmen in the pyramids, we reached the ruins of the pyramids of Abousir, which are considerably smaller and less interesting than those of Ghizeh. A league and a half beyond, we came to those of Sakkarah, of which the centre one, which is the largest, and rises in broad terraces, was opened by General Minutoli. Here, therefore, *Msarra*, who had hitherto trotted on upon his ass half asleep and half awake, got into his element, like a fish in water; but I shall say nothing about it, and request my reader to peruse the interesting article in the admirable account given by the General himself, which describes it in the most instructive and entertaining manner.

Close to this pyramid there are some far more beautiful sarcophagi than those which we found near Ghizeh, and in the vicinity are inexhaustible catacombs of ibis, as also some burying-places, with

numerous ordinary human mummies. For a small payment, some of the latter were taken up quite perfect in our presence. The painted countenances on the coarse heads of the cases, though no works of art, appeared to me to be full of expression, especially that of a female, which had an extremely arch look. We opened two of the cases which evidently covered only common people, and found nothing in them but linen singed by the mastic that had been used, and bones that had actually become charcoal. We contented ourselves with viewing at a distance the pyramids of Dashour, which are further off, and now turned again to the Nile, towards the beautiful valley and the extensive palm-groves of ancient Memphis.

On entering this forest, the whole scene presented a most striking resemblance with our gloomy northern pine-forests. The trees, with their lofty, bare trunks and small crowns, are almost of the same shape and colour; the ground is, in like manner, composed of dry sand, with here and there some scanty blades of grass; and to complete the portrait, you see near them, half dried up, flat pools full of morass, exactly such as are so common in the March and Lausatia. It would therefore be as desolate here as with us, did not the most luxuriant meadows, clothed with the freshest verdure, produce close by an hundredfold, while the broad Nile rolls past in its proud magnificence. Added to this, antique ruins fill the woods in many places; and in a hollow near the road lies the fine colossal statue of the great Rameses (Sesostris), quite perfect from the head to the waist, but a good deal damaged in the other parts. It is

probably the same statue which formerly stood in the dromos of the temple of Vulcan, and, except that at Abou Zabel, the only statue of this Egyptian hero, the countenance of which is not damaged. Mr. Cavillia has just discovered this colossus, and presented it to the English vice-consul at Alexandria; because, formerly, every stranger who found any remnant of antiquity thought himself entitled to consider it as his own property: almost in the same manner as the inhabitants of some coasts look on the effects of persons shipwrecked.

The vice-consul, as I am informed, intends to have the head sawn off, and to sell it to the British Museum, where it may be placed next to the plunder of Lord Elgin. If this be true, I hope that his Highness the Viceroy, who is not obliged, like many other princes, to consider himself as the slave of every Englishman in office, will hinder such a deed of barbarism. To say the least, it would be an act of weakness on his part if he were not to do so; unless his opinion coincides with that of one of the first officers of the Euphrates expedition, (a man of great energy and no small talent,) who lately, with true English gallantry and self-esteem, said to the commandant at Adaneh, when he showed him the lately-erected fortifications of that place: "*Mon cher ami, avec un kurbatsh* (a riding-whip) *et dix mille Anglais, je veus chasserais facilement avec toute l'armée d'Ibrahim, d'ici à travers la Syrie et l'Egypte jusqu'au Senaar.*" To tell a man such truths to his face is rather too bad.

Among the ruins which lie scattered over a great extent in the forest, I saw but little worth notice:

much, however, must lie here which has been concealed for ages, under countless high hills of debris; for even in Strabo's time the avenue of Sphinxes, beyond the lake which surrounded the whole city and led to the temple of Serapis, was half buried under the sand of the Desert. Towards sunset we rode over narrow dams, rendered necessary by the inundations of the Nile; they are not unlike the paths in an English garden, and are made in winding lines, the better to resist the water. We soon reached the river, where our boats, which had been detained by contrary wind, arrived as if by appointment at the same moment from Cairo. We joyfully hastened on board, and I observed with pleasure the exemplary cleanliness and order of my little aquatic dwelling.

Without loss of time we proceeded southwards up the river, and soon passed Atfeh, formerly dedicated to Aphrodite; while a delicious African night, which Venus herself seemed to have sent, wafted odorous, gentle, and voluptuous breezes around us. At sunrise we passed Joseph's canal, also called Youssef Sal-Eddin's canal, (not, however, the work of the favourite of Potiphar,) and soon discovered in the misty distance, the last of the Egyptian pyramids on the Nile, which, seen from Meidoun in the splendour of the morning sun, resembled a golden crown commanding the Desert. The great journey was now begun which was to carry us further, much further, and to begin more tragically than my fancy could have pictured.

CHAPTER XXI.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE TO THE CAPITAL OF UPPER EGYPT.

The latter end of February was the more especially devoted to domestic affairs, because we had determined, on account of the advanced season of the year, to tarry as little as possible by the way, and to make up for what we had neglected with the more leisure and composure on our return; though this is contrary to my fundamental principle, "Never to put off till to-morrow, what can be done to-day." But every rule has its exception, and pedants alone refuse to see this.

On the first of March, which has always been an unlucky day in my history, I was seated very comfortably in my cabin at noon, employed in writing, when a sudden squall arose, which dashed the waters of the Nile as high as those of the sea, and gave our boat such a rocking motion, that I was obliged to gather up my papers, and replace them in the portfolio. I threw myself upon the bed and called for my pipe, the constant resort and comfort of the Orientals in all their troubles. This belonged to the department of my Greek page, and, as he was on board the other boat, the dragoman called to him to bring my chibouk immediately. A few minutes afterwards, I heard loud cries and a great bustle on deck,

and, looking through my cabin window, saw three or four Arabs plunge, head-over-heels, into the river, and swim after a red tarbush which was dancing before them upon the stream. I marvelled at their taking so much trouble about such a trifle in this boisterous weather, and was looking on quite unconcernedly at their efforts to catch it, when Ackermann entered the cabin, pale as death, and informed me that Jannis, my young page, nobody could conceive how, had disappeared from the vessel, and only his tarbush was to be seen on the waters, but that he himself had not again appeared.

My consternation at this disastrous event may easily be conceived. I instantly promised a large reward, which induced several Arabs to search for the missing youth, and I had the vessel turned round, and cruised about for some hours, but all in vain. Nobody ever saw a trace of the handsome boy—he never rose again above the surface; and even his tarbush was carried away with such rapidity by the wind and current, that the ablest swimmers were not able to catch it. The circumstance that my pipe and a valuable amber mouth-piece, which the unfortunate youth always had charge of, in a tin case, were missing, convinced me that, in all probability, he was going to execute the order he had received, and in stepping from one boat to another (they were chained together on account of the weather), he must have slipped, and, falling directly into the river, had been buried in the abyss before he could call for assistance. What a painful event! and how deeply have I long lamented the poor boy, who

ended his young life in so tragical and causeless a manner. The indifference of the sailors at this heart-rending accident was very remarkable. Our reis appeared even to feel a kind of superstitious satisfaction at it. "Now," said he to my dragoman with a mysterious look, "now our voyage will be prosperous, for the Nile has taken its victim beforehand: to attempt to save *it* is always in vain."

It was not till towards evening, when every hope of finding the boy had vanished, that, with a heavy heart, I continued my voyage. We were off Beni Souëf, where I left my deposition with the governor, with all the necessary directions for further search, as well as for the interment of the body if it should be found, with the request, that I might be informed as soon as possible, of what had been done; yet up to this hour, when I am making a fair copy of this chapter of my journey in the kingdom of Senaar, I have not been able to obtain any further tidings of my faithful page, to whom I was much attached, and in every respect deservedly so.

Beni Souëf, like most of the old Egyptian villages, with their huts covered with camels' dung, has a most wretched appearance. However, as I was upon the spot, I paid a flighty visit to it, to see what was worth seeing. I first of all went to the primary-school, which contained ninety-six children, and is well conducted. I saw the boys at meals: the most indispensable part, after all, even in a school. I found their bodily nutriment excellent, but had no opportunity of judging of their intellectual food, as the scholars had a holiday. In the province of Fayoum

there are four similar schools, founded by Mehemet Ali. I next inspected a woollen manufactory, which was similar to that which I have already described, and which appeared not inferior to it, in point of order and activity of business. The large barracks for two regular regiments of cavalry were almost deserted, because the horses were at grass; and the building was, for the most part, inhabited by military workmen, for extensive clay barracks which surround a large parade, have recently been built in the immediate vicinity, for the officers and privates. I visited them, and found even the residences of the superior officers but little different from the much decried houses of the Fellahs, because these are the best adapted to the climate, being warmer in winter and cooler in summer. A fine avenue of venerable mimosas, affording a shady promenade, runs from the barracks to the Nile.

At nightfall I again embarked, and in the morning we overtook the boat of a French traveller, a Count Mercy d'Argenteau, accompanied by an amiable countrywoman, whom we saw on the deck, elegantly dressed, reading attentively. The country was probably not suited to her taste, for at this place, which was particularly beautiful, the Count turned back. It must be owned that a voyage on the Nile soon becomes tiresome, from its great monotony. I am convinced that scarcely a spot is to be found here which, if we were suddenly transported to it from Europe, would not leave a romantic impression by its foreign aspect; but *toujours perdrix*, as we well know, is *ennuyant;* and after constantly seeing

the same thing for a month together, we often heartily long for something like our native home, were it even of the most unpretending kind. Besides this, the burning sun already begins to singe the verdure of the extensive tracts hitherto so refreshing; and in a few weeks, instead of that emerald carpet, we shall have only a grey mantle of dust spread out before us. I hope, however, before that time to have proceeded further into a country where other laws of nature prevail. And besides this, the Nile is now so low, that when we are gliding along in the boat we see but little of the adjacent country; it is only when we place our foot on land that we are struck with astonishment at the extraordinary fertility of the soil, which often extends, in boundless plains, far into the interior; while in other places this fertility is interrupted by the encroachment of the Desert, which reaches to the river's edge; because the ancient canals have been neglected for centuries, and Mehemet Ali cannot restore everything.

On the 4th, 5th, and 6th of March, the first attack of the scorching chamsin, which set in uncommonly soon this year, detained us near a tobacco-field, where neither tree nor shrub afforded us the slightest protection. Though the wind, during the phenomenon, seems to issue from the mouth of a furnace, though the blood is heated by it, and the eyes look red and swollen from the continued clouds of dust which make their way everywhere, I cannot say that I found the effects so intolerable as they have been described. I felt myself quite vigorous, and even observed that I had a much better appe-

tite; but the dust was unquestionably most troublesome. The whole atmosphere is so impregnated with it, that you cannot see fifty, and often not ten paces before you. This fine dust penetrates into every place, however well closed; and, in spite of all cleaning, again lies an inch thick upon every object in a few hours. Your mouth, nose, and eyes, are constantly filled with it; but luckily we were in a water region, so that we had this element always at hand, if not as an antidote, yet at any rate as a palliative.

The sailors cared less about the chamsin than we did; they thanked Allah that it saved them from working; and sang, played, and danced, day and night. There they are hour after hour sitting in a circle on their heels, and incessantly singing the same three or four words in unison; while one of them, as a kind of precentor, occasionally introduces other strophes, with a somewhat different melody, but the others always resume the old burden.

One night six of these men, led by a half crazy santon, to whom they paid the greatest deference, attempted to perform the dance of the howling derwishes: a scene which had something so awfully terrific about it, that I shall never forget it. The atmosphere was dense and sultry; hollow gusts of wind moaned around us, and whirling clouds of dust rose up on all sides, scarcely permitting the pale light of a few stars to penetrate the strange obscurity. The dark, jagged bank of the Nile, near which our boats were anchored, appeared in an obscure and undefined outline. Close to the edge, six figures, enveloped in black clothes, flitted like

shadows to and fro in this indistinct twilight. Soon they formed a circle round the naked santon, who sang in a plaintive, agonising tone of voice, various deeply melancholy, but by no means unmelodious strains. The shadowy circle incessantly leaped up, and then bowed down to the earth, in regular cadence, and in a deep, hoarse, half-uttered and half-suppressed and indescribable tone, which resembled the howling of an infernal monster, pronounced the word *Ajuhm*, with systematically increasing rapidity; till at length, one after the other sank down exhausted, and the sound died away in a death-like swoon.

Many of these infatuated wretches are said often to expire in an apoplectic fit; but as this dance is considered one of exalted piety, the man who loses his life in it is regarded as a happy martyr! The ceremony, however, appeared to me like a desperate conjuration of evil spirits, or an infernal dance of demons. The awful hellishness of this scene even confounded my Spartan Susannis; this brave fellow, *sans peur et sans reproche*, took refuge, at the very onset of this fiendish scene, in a corner of the vessel, and fixing his eyes on the dancers, incessantly accompanied their fearful "Ajuhm," to its very close, with an almost equally frightful howl in his own language.

In the night of the 6th, the chamsin suddenly changed to a storm from the north; and though this direction was very favourable to our progress, we could not venture to trust to it, in the darkness of the night, and in the immediate vicinity of the steep rocks of Djebel Itter, (the Bird-mountain)

on the Arabian side, which here runs down close to the Nile. It was not till later in the morning, when the violence of the squall was a little abated, that we could fly onwards on the wings of the wind.

The banks of the river here assumed a new, and consequently a more attractive character. The vegetation also often presented a very different appearance, and the neighbouring chain of mountains, though it consisted only of yellow sand, or naked sand-stone, was highly picturesque, on account of its singular forms. In order to have the full benefit of this favourable wind, we resolutely passed every ruin and other object of interest; and there was a peculiar charm in sailing so rapidly along, by towns, villages, rocks, catacombs, ancient temples, palm groves, and sugar plantations. The latter glowed in a bright, apple-green verdure, such as none but the painters of the water-colour pictures in the ancient monkish writings ventured to introduce.

At the termination of this chain there is a Coptic convent, and we saw, with great astonishment, a body of ten monks issue from its walls, and precipitating themselves, rather than descending the rocky declivity, leap into the tossing water, and, like so many fishes, swim in the stream after our boats, which we immediately stopped. After immense exertions, for a quarter of an hour, they happily reached our canja; but judge of my amazement, when I found that all this was to beg for two kaerieh (five francs) by way of alms!

Minieh presents a very fine appearance; it contains a palace of the Viceroy, and another of the

Governor, which has the more striking aspect of the two. The environs of the river are fresh and lovely on all sides; we had the advantage of seeing them illumed by the glowing rays of the sun, after having been involved the whole day in a dense grey fog. Immediately after the parching heat of the chamsin, the cold had become so piercing, that I was obliged to take out my cloth habiliments, and even my great-coat.

On the 8th of March the wind abated, which induced us to land near Baramoun. Here we visited the only sugar-manufactory which has hitherto been established in the country, the produce of which is sold at this place for three times the price which is paid in Cairo for foreign sugar. The buildings of this establishment have become ominous, from the circumstance, that this place unfortunately lies between the ruins of Hermopolis and Antinoë—the celebrated propylæa of which were in a perfect state of preservation, and so overpowered Denon, that he fell on his knees before one of them in an ecstacy—were lately blown up with gunpowder, and the stones employed in building this sugar-manufactory! Yet there were inexhaustible stone quarries equally near at hand, but there would have been rather more trouble in procuring the materials from thence—an ample reason in this dronish country. Yet the Turkish education, and the former ignorance of the Viceroy, may afford some palliative for this barbarism. Many generations must, perhaps, pass away, before the natives will be capable of understanding and appreciating the value of these antiquities, as works of art,

in spite of all the obsequious articles in the newspapers, which affirm the contrary.

This sugar-manufactory was shown us by a very intelligent Frenchman, who had been sent for, two months ago, to place it on a better footing; a task which he hopes to complete in a few weeks, and for which he is to receive 30,000 francs, besides the defrayal of the expenses of his journey and residence. Hitherto the sugar was manufactured in a raw brown mass by the Fellahs in their own huts, and then refined here, two, three, and even four times. That which is refined four times, costs, on the spot, 1050 piastres per cwt., while the Fellahs receive only fifty per cwt. for their raw produce: which certainly would be a handsome profit if purchasers could be found.

The Frenchman has proposed (and at the same time proved the great advantage that would result from his plan) that no sugar shall in future be manufactured by the Fellahs, but that it shall be here extracted from the cane, and then refined by means of a steam-engine; by which proceeding, as he affirms, the Viceroy will soon be able to furnish the sugar at a lower price than that for which it can be obtained from Europe. This would ensure him not only the monopoly in the country, but at the same time an immense profit. The director himself has offered to hire the manufactory and to pay a high rent, but this has been refused, as well as several other proposals that he has made, and by which he meant to obviate the *ineptie* of his Egyptian assistants, of whom he complained very bitterly, and said that the Viceroy had for some time past shown more and more disinclination to

employ Europeans, because he believed that he had no longer any need of them: in which supposition, however, he was much mistaken. I repeat these words, because they are entirely conformable to what I have already hinted.

The jealousy of the Turks towards the Europeans, and their endeavours to remove them, under the false impression that they themselves have already learnt everything necessary, gains more and more ground at the Egyptian court. This is even more the case with Ibrahim than with Mehemet Ali; but there is some excuse for the latter, for he has been so often and so inexcusably deceived by Europeans, that he begins to feel a kind of aversion from them, and, to his great detriment, occasionally suffers himself to be persuaded that he can do without them. The time, however, is not yet come; and, though Mehemet Ali is so great a man, and so worthy of admiration, yet, without the aid of Europeans he never could have executed his plans, and the durability of what he has accomplished would perhaps be still very questionable without them.

In the travels of Mr. Cadalvène, where every opportunity is taken to depreciate the Viceroy, there is an entirely false statement respecting this sugar manufactory. The author affirms, that "The inferior quality of this sugar (the real cause of which is to be sought in the ignorance of the preceding director and founder of the manufactory) is to be ascribed entirely to the inconsistency of Mehemet Ali, who, though he has on so many other occasions disregarded the prejudices of his fellow believers, has most unaccountably refused to allow the use of blood to refine the sugar,

without knowing that it is indispensable to the obtaining sugar of a good quality." In this assertion everything is erroneous. *In the first place*, the Viceroy never thought of troubling himself with such details, but the Mahometan workmen have shown a great aversion, and some hesitation, to make use of blood; a prejudice which the new director has the more readily given way to, because (the second mistake of Mr. Cadalvène) blood *is not at all* indispensably necessary to refine sugar. The director of the manufactory himself greatly prefers eggs for this purpose, and, as he says, would prefer them in Europe, if they could there be obtained in equal abundance, and at as low a price as here, where blood is much dearer, and less serviceable.

Insignificant as this matter may be in itself, I have thought it right not to pass it over, because, in its palpable superficiality and hostile intention, it is a fair specimen of the numerous similar attacks, of which the otherwise not worthless book is full.

On the 9th of March the picturesque mountains of Alboulfedar, ornamented by beautiful catacombs, lay before us, on the Arabian side, for half a day. Higher up the river was a singular temple of a santon, which crowns the extreme summit of a white rock, and completely put me in mind of an ornament on a bride's-cake. Opposite to it an ochre-coloured sand-hill, in the form of a perfectly regular pyramid, arises from the Desert. After passing Minieh, we rarely saw the balancing-pails of the sakyehs on the bank drawn by oxen, their places being supplied by naked Fellahs, and the sakyehs are built smaller to suit their height.

Numerous herds of buffaloes were feeding on the banks of the river, and in many of the sandy islands there were dozens of pelicans gravely drawn up in regular files. Many water-fowls of other species here animate the Nile, and we shot some wild geese, which have a good flavour, but are difficult to get at.

Towards evening we arrived at Monfalout, which was a short time since half destroyed by the river; it is a wretched, but still extensive village, and has many very pretty mosques. The surrounding country is beautiful; the mountain chains of Arabia and Lybia appear, when seen from the town, to have around them an uninterrupted amphitheatre of blue mountain walls, within which there is a continued luxuriant green carpet, watered by the Nile. The doctor and I climbed to the top of a decayed house, the better to enjoy the fine prospect, but we were compelled to make a quick retreat, as the walls, which were undermined by the water, began to tremble under our weight, as if they had been shaken by an earthquake. We had, however, had time to descry the minarets of Siout rising in the rosy-tinted horizon, in the smiling panorama; a sight that was doubly welcome, because we hoped that we should still find the Viceroy there, and likewise obtain some repose, of which we stood greatly in need. It is only a few hours' journey from Monfalout by land, but by water it took us the best part of the following day to accomplish the distance, on account of the tortuous course of the stream; added to which, we had contrary winds.

I will here, by the way, give a piece of advice, which my subsequent experience has amply confirmed,

namely, that a traveller who is not shackled either by a delicate constitution or by views of economy, will do best, both in regard to his individual pleasure, and to the attainment of a more correct knowledge of the country, to start from Alexandria, to travel across the country by land as far as ever he may be disposed to go, and then to return by way of the Nile. In the adoption of this plan, I must however make an exception with regard to the summer months, when the greater part of Egypt looks like an immense plain of grey sand. In every other respect the traveller will, in the first place, proceed much more rapidly, which far outweighs the additional fatigue; secondly, he will enjoy infinitely greater variety; thirdly, he will not be liable to so many attacks of sickness; and fourthly, he will derive infinitely more profit from his journey, than he could acquire by pursuing the prescribed route adopted by every-day travellers.

My first business on landing at Siout, (which is about half a league distant from the present water-mark of the Nile,) was to write and inform Mehemet Ali of my arrival; and this I did, even before I left my barque. In a very short time, Artim Bey appeared, followed by a train of horses and servants, to escort me at once to his Highness, who was so gracious as to send me word "that it had been his intention to leave Siout in a few hours; but as I had at length landed, he would, for my sake, abide here to-day and to-morrow." In truth I was very much behind the time agreed upon, and was therefore both surprised and delighted at the extreme courtesy and cordiality of the Viceroy's message.

It was a splendid evening, and on our short ride to Siout we had a really gorgeous spectacle; for here all was still clad in the brightest and most luxuriant green, which, in every variety of shade and tint, embosomed three sides of the capital of Upper Egypt; while on the fourth, behind its gay towers and minarets burnished by the golden rays of the setting sun, stretched the stern, wan, Lybian chain, mysteriously marked with the black festoons of its stupendous Catacombs.

The Viceroy had taken up his residence in a stately white palace, on the outskirts of the town. A company of soldiers, in green uniforms, were drawn up in the extensive court, and on my entrance they gave me a salute with their tinkling instruments.

The reception with which his Highness always honoured me, was not only extremely polite, but truly cordial. I found him on this occasion in excessively good spirits, and apparently not in the least worn out with the fatiguing journey from Cairo hitherward, during which, this septuagenarian prince had daily ridden from ten to twelve hours on horseback; and in fact he even looked better and more vigorous than before.

In reply to some observations of this kind which I made, he said that he was so cheerful on account of the good condition in which he had found the province, in which, during the last two years, 85,000 men had, annually, been working three months at the neglected dams and canals; and, that independently of this, thirty-two millions of bricks, baked in the sun, were made and used every year. He hoped that

by doubling this power, he might be able to effect the irrigation of the whole of Upper Egypt, so that not an acre of it should remain uncultivated, which unfortunately was still the case in many districts. He had also been at length successful in prevailing upon the inhabitants to make large purchases of cattle from Senaar, which, notwithstanding the immense advantage connected with it, they were at first very loath to do, on account of their being totally unaccustomed to it; a fate which attends almost every new scheme. He had, however, adopted the method of setting them a good example, by making large purchases himself, and by advancing the necessary sum without any per centage to every solid speculator; and the whole affair was now in the best train possible. "There is such an abundance of cattle in Senaar," he continued, "that a camel costs scarcely four Spanish dollars, an ox two, and a sheep only four piastres. Capital alone is wanting there, and that to such a degree, that I am the first who has brought money into circulation, for hitherto they had only had a barter trade. Here, on the contrary, we want cattle; we have, indeed, very little pasture land, and the greater part is cultivated with those fruits of the field which yield a much larger increase: but we require an immense number of cattle for the working of the sakyehs, and we shall want yet more to carry on our farther improvements. By means of the trade, therefore, which I have introduced, both parties will derive an advantage; and if Allah be propitious to us, their prosperity will advance with giant strides."

During the journey I afterwards met very large herds of these imported cattle, the conveyance of which is, however, attended with some difficulty, from the necessity of procuring fodder by the way. All these cattle were as lean as Pharaoh's kine, but they were strong-built, and of a remarkably fine breed.

This administrative subject led us to speak of Europe, of its rapid advance in discoveries, and especially of its numerous articles of luxury which are still unknown here. "I am perfectly aware of all this," said the Viceroy, smiling; "and I assure you that I am interested, not only in machinery, but also in those things which promote the enjoyment of life. Nothing new of this kind appears either in London or in Paris, of which specimens are not immediately sent to me." "Unhappily, however, this is not apparent," I ventured to reply, as we were alone, "because it is all buried in your Highness's harem." "True," replied Mehemet Ali, "but the times will not permit me to go as far as you would wish. After my death many more prejudices will give way; though I must confess, that it is immensely difficult for even the wisest man to free himself from them; and, perhaps, it is impossible for any mortal ever entirely to shake off the bias of his early education."

I sincerely complimented him that he had, nevertheless, already been able to conquer so many prejudices; and remarked, how grateful the present generation ought to be to him, for the unspeakable benefits which he had conferred upon it. There was a sincerity and originality in his reply which manifested

his intimate knowledge of the human heart. "A father," said he, "loves his child—wherefore? from selfishness; he sees a prolongation of *himself* in that child; it claims its origin from *him;* it belongs to *him;* and he hopes that it will one day be the prop of his old age. A child loves his father because *it* receives support, and every good thing *it* possesses from him, and expects on his decease to inherit his property. Master and servant, prince and subject, all are actuated by these motives; *self-interest* lies at the root of all human relations; and if it is skilfully managed, it constitutes *good* masters and *good* servants."

"It is a pity, however," I exclaimed, "that so few men understand their real interest; and in this respect I greatly admire the energy of your Highness, who is deterred neither by deceit nor stupidity in the prosecution of your benevolent plans."

"It is true," replied he, "I have to overcome many a severe struggle; and, perhaps for this very reason, I have become more closely and ardently devoted to my adopted land. I had neither rest nor peace; Egypt appeared to me like a poor, naked, helpless child, which for centuries had been stupified with sleep, to whom I was now to be every thing,—its father and mother, its master and servant, its teacher and judge; and often, when lying sleepless on my couch, have I said within myself: Can a single Mehemet Ali be sufficient to rear, to clothe, to instruct, and to train this child? Even now I feel dubious of success; yet, perhaps, in spite of every obstacle, it may be accorded to me by God, to whom

I owe so much, and to whom I have always applied for direction."

Surely Mehemet Ali is not understood in Europe, and even here, only in part; and I am persuaded, that many of my readers will set down the half of what I have already said, and shall further communicate, as a romance of my own invention. I must, however, beg them to remember, that Artim Bey, a man who is so completely European, that an intercourse of twenty years would not enable one to discover that he is a Turk, is alive to give me a *démenti* if I do not speak the truth. I may, possibly, make a mistake in some unessential, isolated expression, but never in the main point, as I invariably availed myself of the first moment to write down the very words of Mehemet Ali; and I did this, because I am of opinion that the words of great men, even if they concern only comparatively trivial subjects, must possess a high degree of interest to intellectual minds. How far these words were really the language of his heart, or how far they were designedly uttered, the sagacious reader may decide for himself; they will always afford matter for reflection.

The Viceroy closed this conversation with the remark, "that all nations were capable of greatness, and all armies of victory, if they could only find a man who knew the path by which to conduct them to it."

The next morning he invited me to a *déjeûner à la fourchette*. After having partaken of the Turkish *dîner* with him at Ghizeh, I was not a little surprised to find everything arranged in the European fashion,

and to see Mehemet Ali eating with all the elegance of an English gentleman. I learnt that the Viceroy had for many years adopted the European custom in private, and only observed the national etiquette on state occasions. The breakfast was, however, so far Turkish, that his Highness and I sat at table, and partook of the good cheer, while the courtiers stood around us fasting. The Viceroy was so cheerful that he even addressed a few words to me in French, which he pronounced perfectly correctly. He then said with a *naïve* grace which is quite peculiar to him, "I have learnt to eat in the European fashion, but I have not yet fully learnt the art of carving, and in this I must now request you to give me a lesson, if you will undertake the task." We accordingly commenced with a *dindon aux truffes*, which I flatter myself I carved very scientifically. During this capital repast, both his Highness and I were amply supplied with excellent *Château Margeaux*, the only wine which the Viceroy drinks, and indeed the only wine which is served at his table.

As a proof of the delicate attention and almost incredible politeness of a Turk, and of so great a man as Mehemet Ali, I cannot refrain from mentioning a circumstance which was communicated to me by the governor of Siout. When the Viceroy had invited me to breakfast, he desired that a *fauteuil*, exactly similar to his own, should be brought for me, but there was none like it in the whole town, and only plain cane-bottomed chairs could be found. When his highness was informed of this, he desired that his own *fauteuil* should be removed, and that two cane

chairs, exactly alike, should be placed at the table. Unimportant as this subject may be, it is nevertheless a trait in the character of Mehemet Ali.

I availed myself of the high good-humour of my exalted host, to request permission not merely to follow him by water, but to accompany him on his tour of inspection in the interior of his country: a request which he very readily complied with. Our conversation embraced a great variety of subjects, but in presence of so large a company could only be confined to every day topics. After the *déjeûner*, however, when we were alone, it gradually assumed a much more confidential tone, and the reader may easily conceive how highly delightful and instructive it was to listen to the remarks of Mehemet Ali, respecting his political relations, and the clear, comprehensive views which he took of the interests and sentiments of the European cabinets, which he expressed with equal warmth and sincerity. It would be highly indiscreet if I were to enter into more minute detail in this work; yet thus much I may be permitted to say, that I could never sufficiently admire the simplicity and dignity of his expressions, as well as the justness of his views, in so far as I am capable of judging of the latter. It was evident from all that he said, that he was quite penetrated with the conviction that everything which he had done and wrought could have no durability, so long as the keystone of the building was wanting, so long as the deed was not honoured by the name; so long, in a word, as his sovereignty existed *de facto* and not *de jure;* and at the same time how greatly he desired peace, security, and tranquil-

lity, without undue projects of aggrandizement; that however, if, as a last resource, war was deemed indispensable, he would not shrink from it; but that, of what he once possessed, he would never quietly yield a single village. With regard to pecuniary sacrifices, the matter was altogether different; and I believe that the Viceroy would unhesitatingly make the greatest, if he could thereby set aside an anomaly, whose existence threatens the peace of the East as well as that of the West; and not only places obstacles in the way of the benevolent views of the Viceroy, in respect to the lands which he governs, but at the same time paralyses the Sultan in similar endeavours.

Having been successful in my application for some friends, I ventured to solicit for Clot Bey, the permission which had hitherto been always decidedly withheld, for the removal of the *école de médecine* from Abou-Zabel to Cairo. The Viceroy at first opposed my intercession with a little irritability, but I was ultimately so happy as to obtain the desired sanction. I gratefully took leave of his Highness, and proceeded to visit the town and its environs.

Siout can boast of nothing of interest, except the well furnished bazars, and a mosque built by the notorious Defterdar. A very handsome public bath, constructed of marble, is connected with this edifice, and the funds arising from it are devoted to the expenses of the mosque. It is a universal and most admirable custom in the East, to connect something of general use with every religious structure. The Viceroy had established one of his largest and most expensive manufactories at Siout, but it was burnt down by

the fanatic inhabitants. The only punishment which he inflicted upon the town was, his determination not to re-erect the building, and he removed the manufactory to another place.

It is well known that when the Mamelukes were expelled from Lower Egypt, they long maintained their place in Siout, and the burying-ground in which their remains are deposited resembles a little town of stately monuments, just below the Necropolis of the Egyptians, which, for thousands of years, has perforated the rock above them, like the cells of a bee-hive. The graves of the Mamelukes, like those of their ancient predecessors, commence on the skirts of the green fields, and terminate in the sand of the boundless Desert. I deferred my visit to the Necropolis till I should return, but undeterred by the heat, I mounted the Viceroy's capital horse, and gallopped a good way into the Desert. I then scaled the bleak rocks of the Libyan chain, to enjoy a more extensive view of the charming valley of the Nile in the east. An unpropitious mist, however, almost defeated my object.

On my return home I witnessed a truly national scene—eight gigantic, naked negroes, were busily engaged in extricating a buffalo, which had stuck fast in the morass, and had literally sunk up to his neck. As soon as they had accomplished their herculean task, they positively carried the huge beast on their shoulders, and placed him securely on *terra firma*.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOURNEY WITH THE VICEROY.

I WAS lying sleepless in bed, suffering with violent fever and an intense headache, when at sunrise I heard several cannon-shot which announced the departure of the Viceroy; and a kawass called at the same moment, to inform me, on the part of his Highness, that he would expect me at the breakfast station; and in order that I might follow him the more expeditiously, he had sent me one of his Candiot mules. I was, however, quite unable to stir till eight o'clock, though this ill-timed delay was very disagreeable.

The way led through a fine meadow for twelve or fifteen miles, the fertility and excellent cultivation of which it would probably be difficult to equal in any part of Europe. In the immense plain which extended between the two mountain chains, not the smallest spot seemed to be left lying useless, just as in Malta and Gozo; only with the difference, that there its stubborn soil must be cultivated with great labour, while here the most fertile garden mould requires nothing more than the trouble of sowing the seed. All the various crops were in the highest perfection: the peasantry were already gathering in the flax, and the barley looked as if it would be ripe in about a fortnight. The *bersim* (a species of luxuriant clover), was already, for the most part, mown,

and the ripe green peas and beans, which I tasted, were as sweet and palatable as in the most favoured parts of Franconia. Scattered groups of various kinds of cattle of large size and of a good breed, such as oxen, buffaloes, horses, camels, sheep, and goats, were grazing in the fallows. There was quite a succession of villages embosomed in palms, which formed refreshing dark groves in the relief of the light green plain, where the silver stream of the Nile was seen every now and then, illumed by the vertical rays of the burning sun, sparkling at a distance. It was a picture full of richness, abundance and splendour; but I was suffering too much pain, to indulge freely in the enjoyment of natural beauties, and was therefore heartily glad when I perceived, near one of the larger villages, the long row of the Viceroy's tents, with all the motley picturesque oriental state of his suite, which consisted of more than 300 men and 300 animals.

Mehemet Ali had very kindly postponed his usual breakfast-time a full hour, till he had quite given up the expectation of my coming, and was now enjoying his *siesta*. I found a very elegant tent, with various compartments, prepared for my use; and was conducted thither by Artim Bey, and his Highness's physician in ordinary, a Spaniard by birth, who at once offered me his medical advice. As I however best knew the antidotes for my complaint, I declined both the recipes of the kitchen and the laboratory, and hastened to bed; and in fact I was thoroughly cured after four hours' refreshing sleep.

The travelling economy of the Viceroy is admirably

arranged. I have already stated that a retinue of more than three hundred men (among whom, I may mention by the way, that, with the exception of the adjutant-general, Zami Bey, there was not a single military man) and a still larger number of horses, dromedaries, and mules, accompanied him. Two sets, each consisting of fifty tents, with all the necessary furniture, and two complete culinary establishments, are interchanged with each other on the journey, and with such precision, that he is never obliged to wait for anything, but, as soon as he arrives, finds his dwelling and repast already prepared.

The Viceroy generally mounts his horse half an hour before sunrise, and with the exception of his special attendants, only the Mudir (governor) of the province through which he is passing, accompanies him. All the rest follow as may be convenient, and I observed that we hardly ever got sight of the adjutant-general during the journey. On the whole, excepting the strict oriental etiquette that nobody is to sit down in presence of the prince, there was much less constraint and regard to the person of the Viceroy than I expected; though affectionate respect for the ruler was everywhere manifested, without the slightest trace of fear, timidity, or embarrassment. At the same time, strict and exemplary order prevailed, totally exempt from the manifold bustle and confusion which I have often witnessed in the journeys of European sovereigns. Some of the forms of this court have, however, already become more European than oriental, distinguished as much by a dignified deportment, as refined politeness and easy manners, *ad regis exemplum.*

In truth, it is scarcely possible to see so amiable an old man, in such an exalted situation, as Mehemet Ali—so punctual (which is the politeness of princes), so cheerful and so equable in his temper, so devoid of pretensions of any kind, so simple and so natural, nay, I might almost say so unsophisticated—without the most lively astonishment that one who appears so harmless and good-natured, and is almost adored by all who attend him, can be the man who, solely by his head and his arm, has, under the most difficult circumstances, formed and preserved a mighty empire; the same man who was the formidable destroyer of the Mamelukes, and the conqueror of his former master the Sultan, whose tottering throne he might have overturned after the battle of Konieh; the same man, in short, who was long represented in Europe as the greatest tyrant of our times, and as the most unfeeling egotist.

As soon as the Viceroy's *siesta* was over, the daily report was made to him by Zami Bey, and the despatches of the first courier (there are two every day, one from Alexandria and one from Cairo), were opened, and the answers sent off. After the business was finished, the Viceroy sent for me. He received me in his splendid tent, where a divan of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, stood in the background. Here for the first time I saw him in a short black dress, without the long pelisse which he usually wears, and in which he looked extremely well, and full ten years younger. In this antique Spanish black dress, and with the imposing manner that is peculiar to himself, the Viceroy forcibly awakened in my mind a reminiscence of my childhood, for he

perfectly resembled the late actor Fleck, in person as well as dress, in the part of King Philip in Don Carlos.

"Do you know," said he, as I entered, "what I have just decreed? A bank at Cairo! I have agreed to give for the present a million of Spanish dollars, and intend to add to the same fund all the property of those of my children who are yet under age. This bank will advance money, according to the custom of the country, at twelve per cent., and pay ten per cent. for all the sums lent to it; and I hope soon to witness the good effects of this measure. It will henceforward be no longer difficult for enterprising individuals to raise capital, in order to follow up their speculations; and the people, who are still so foolish as to hide every farthing which they have saved (though by this time experience ought to have taught them that under me no person has to fear anything for his acquired property), will perhaps gradually come forward, and see that it is better to make use of the money than to let it lie dead. Lately," he continued, "an inconsiderable sheikh of this place died, who was scarcely looked upon as a man in tolerable circumstances, and yet he left sixty thousand gazi in ready money. I should never have heard any thing of it had not a dispute arisen among his children, respecting the inheritance, and one of them at length applied for my assistance. I sent for them all, and advised them to come to an amicable arrangement as soon as possible; for if you once fall into the hands of the kadi, I added, not only *one* of you, but all, will have the smaller portion. They followed my advice, and they did well."

Several observations which ensued fully convinced

me that, like the Sultan, Mehemet is greatly dissatisfied with, and finds himself much shackled by, the priests, who have a considerable share in the administration of justice among the Turks; a system which is upon the whole most prejudicial, and that he considers the power thus vested in the priesthood as most highly injurious and detrimental. If there were a reform in this respect, it would far outweigh every disadvantage; just as in earlier ages Christendom was highly benefited by Protestantism (which afterwards again slumbered awhile); for entirely setting aside the question of what was gained by it in a religious point of view, the *political* advantage was immense, inasmuch as the Reformation placed the Christian priesthood within their truebounds, or circumscribed those limits. Here the priesthood still exists as a mighty corporation, which interferes with the government, and avails itself of every opportunity to oppose it.

After a pause, the Viceroy resumed the subject of money. "I am convinced," said he, "that there are immense treasures, in ready-money, in this way concealed in the earth in Egypt: it has been an invariable custom among us, and indeed in earlier times it was impossible to obviate it, as long as arbitrary power was dominant. At that time, we were all raw and ignorant men, hardly conscious that we were committing *a crime*, and only filled with the notion of our own *advantage*. But since I have been governor here, I can say with a good conscience, that so far as my knowledge extended, and so far as I was informed, no injustice in regard to private relations has ever been knowingly tolerated by me. I am aware

that it is said that I oppress the Fellahs, and yet it is very easy to show that their condition is twice as good, and at the same time much more secure than ever it was before, although I am not by any means able to do for them all that must be done; but the fault is not my own. It is said also that I have constituted myself the sole landlord of my own country, and this also is an utterly false and superficial view. The *feddan* which the Fellah cultivates is, as far as the product is concerned, as good as his own property, though necessarily still circumscribed; nay, he is even at liberty to sell it, that is to say, he may on certain conditions cede it to another Fellah, but I do not permit that it should remain uncultivated; and this state of tutelage is at present indispensable.

"The tribute in kind which he has to pay, is by no means out of proportion; for he has to pay the government, according to varying local circumstances, on an average, only a fourth part of the fruits, partly in kind, and partly in money as ground-rent, and this only from one harvest; whereas his ground generally produces two, and in Lower Egypt there are often three harvests every year. The indirect taxes do not fall on the agriculturist, but on the tradesman. The Fellahs may be oppressed in some things, but I am compelled by higher motives to retain these regulations for the present; and do not these evils exist everywhere, even in your own Europe, only under different forms? nay, I am positively assured, often in a much higher degree? I know that an Englishman, whose book you have doubtless read, has published a long list of all that the Fellah has to pay to my

government. But, from beginning to end, only half of this calculation is true; the rest is compiled from false reports, and sometimes even from the most laughable misconceptions. If that calculation were indeed true, the Fellah would have to pay more to government than it is by any means possible for him to earn. Here, however, come your travellers, and they very seldom look beyond the banks of the Nile, except indeed to hunt after antiquities, which seems invariably to be their chief object; but something about my administration is sure to be palmed upon them into the bargain, by the first idle gossip that comes across their path."

The Viceroy then very humorously related a string of the most ridiculous anecdotes of travellers, which had been related to him, respecting Africa, Arabia, and Syria, by pretended eye-witnesses, but the utterly different version of which was most intimately known to him; and he added, he must confess that, from that period he was so convinced of the ignorance and credulity of the greater part of these gentlemen, that he was led, upon the whole, to form a very mediocre opinion of them, an opinion in which experience confirmed him to this very day.

I allowed that in this respect he might often be right, especially as the most absurd sentence was frequently passed on things relative to himself and his proceedings, by utterly incompetent judges; but at the same time, an amelioration in this respect could scarcely be hoped for, as it required no little talent to fathom such a man as he was, and justly to appreciate and represent him. "La! la!" cried he; "there is not

much talent wanted for that, but merely the trouble of inquiring after truth, and then with honest boldness to declare it."

I now endeavoured to lead the conversation to a subject which I had already touched upon slightly at different times, and on each occasion longed to urge upon him; namely, the discovery of the sources of the Nile, by an expedition to be undertaken by his orders. But unhappily, Mehemet Ali has no more sympathy with this than he has with antiquities and works of art. "Patience, patience!" retorted he, "it is impossible for me to do everything at once. The governor of Darfour has caused a peaceful ambassage, which I sent to him a good while ago, to be either murdered or put into prison, and there the unhappy survivors are languishing even now, while the lawful ruler of the land has fled to me, and is now in Kourdafan, where he is supported by me. The affront which has thus been put upon me is very great, and it is not improbable that I may in consequence feel myself compelled to go to war with Darfour, which would very greatly facilitate your European project, of discovering the sources of the Nile. Yes," exclaimed he, with a very knowing look, "if circumstances were different, if the Sultan at Darfour understood our mutual advantage better, and were I not compelled to exhaust my resources in arming myself in self-defence against the danger which threatens me from the side of Europe, how much might I be able to effect here for my own people, as well as for European science in the heart of Africa! But now my hands are everywhere tied."

He was of opinion that it was by no means fully

established that the White River was the actual Nile, and hinted that the sources of the Blue River had never yet been satisfactorily traced; and that the true sources of the Nile must be sought for, far more remotely in the interior than was affirmed by Bruce and less competent travellers since his day, or even perhaps beyond Abyssinia. "This also could be easily ascertained," he said, "and the conquest of Abyssinia itself might be made without much difficulty; but," continued he, laughing, "this would be a subject of great vexation to my friends, the English, and after all would not profit me much."

I maintained that the Bhar el Abiad is the true Nile, an opinion in which I am supported by the greater part of the learned men in Europe; and added, that I should indeed rejoice to see the time when his royal empire would extend thousands of miles, from the mountains of the Moon to those of Adanah. I afterwards asked him, how far he had personally penetrated into the southern part of his dominions, which have already reached the tenth degree.

"No further than Wadi Halfa," replied he, "and that was only for the purpose of regulating the necessary passage at the second cataract of the Nile, for the transport of my goods. It was one of the merriest voyages I ever made in my whole life, and which I accomplished there and back, from Cairo, in a little bark, attended by a very small retinue, and favoured by a propitious wind, in the course of twenty days, which has never been accomplished before or since." He related, with evident delight, the details of this expedition, which he had made when somewhat younger, and

spoke of a storm, which had split the sail of his canja and almost capsized it, and added, that he was greatly amused at the panic of his fellow-passengers: "for," said he, "in the first place, I am a very good swimmer; and secondly, I am perfectly aware that a canja or dahabia, even if it is capsized, never sinks on the Nile, unless it springs a leak. I have long caused experiments of this kind to be made, and have had the canjas most unproportionably loaded and then overturned, but I never was able to make them sink. The passion for the chase which seized us all during this voyage," continued he, "was in the highest degree amusing; for we could all boast of being most miserable sportsmen, and I verily believe that, although we sent 10,000 shots through the air, we did not succeed in killing more than ten wild geese."

I inquired whether it would be possible to effect a regular navigation of the cataracts? "Why not!" exclaimed he hastily, "everything is possible, but I cannot think of it now; too many other urgent duties press upon me. This is a work which my children may accomplish, for I shall not have very much time left."

I opposed this view of the case, and said that his powers of action still displayed such a youthful vigour of mind and body, that in all probability he had before him many years of unceasing activity. "No, no," cried he, "when I have settled my troublesome policy, and completed my barage in the Nile, I shall be contented; and, if my life is protracted beyond that period, I shall retire from the scene of action, and give up the government to my son. And, besides

this, I am yearning for rest. Your kind words were intended to comfort me respecting my age, but, believe me, seventy years bear their load! But it is time to break up," he cried, rising, "and we dare not neglect the appointed hour."

The Viceroy's horse stood ready saddled at the tent, and, as if to contradict his words by his deed, the powerful veteran threw himself into the saddle as if he had been a youth, so that we, whose horses were rather tired, as well as the greater part of his suite, could not follow him. When we reached our night's quarter, he had already supped, and had besides completed some despatches, which had arrived subsequently. I found a yet more roomy tent prepared for me than what had been assigned to me in the morning; but I did not, in the present instance, imitate the example of Mehemet Ali, who goes to bed at midnight, although he rises again at four o'clock, for I sought my couch without loss of time.

We broke up, as usual, half-an-hour before sunrise on the following morning; the Viceroy set off, attended by his private servant on horseback, several kawass, and the marmuhr, the two saïs, who ran by the side of his horse; his suite trotted after him, one by one, in the space of half-an-hour. As soon as he espied me and his dragoman, Artim Bey, of whom I never lost sight, his Highness called me, cordially wished me good morning, and a happy day's journey. After I had returned the compliment, and assured him, that a journey in his company could not be otherwise, he said, jokingly, that he was afraid getting up so early in the morning was probably a difficult matter

to me, after what he had heard of my mode of life; but that, as for himself, he was always accustomed to see the sun rise, and that he loved the morning hour the best. Our conversation was carried on in a very lively strain, but I will not repeat it, because it was confined to local subjects, and which were not of general interest.

Our road, like that of yesterday, lay amid the most inexpressibly luxuriant plains, extending as far as the eye could reach; and although Mr. Cadalvène, among his many other exaggerations, states that "the Viceroy compels the Fellahs to plant scarcely anything but cotton, because this yields him the greatest return, though of the least service to the Fellah; that the greater part of the land lay waste on account of the heavy oppression, and that this state of things was getting worse every year," I can nevertheless assert, that, during four long days' journey through an almost uninterrupted expanse of the most lovely plains, such as are, perhaps, seen nowhere else, I saw not a *single field* planted with cotton. But Mr. Cadalvène only saw Egypt from his boat on the Nile, where, on account of the high banks, you certainly either see nothing at all, or, very frequently, only uncultivated ground; and, for the obvious reason, (which has been overlooked by many persons,) that the ground close to the Nile is, in many places, very high, and does not slope towards the distant mountain chains till further inland, which is to be ascribed to the continual elevation of the bed of the river. Now, as an elevation of the water, from twenty-one to twenty-four *pic*, is necessary for a suffi-

cient inundation, these higher parts, so long as there is no regular system of canals, dams, and sluices—to obtain which the Viceroy is anxiously labouring—cannot be made cultivatable without this proportionate expense, though the soil is good. The traveller, who sails along in his boat, and perceives nothing but these barren spots, the termination of which he cannot discover from thence, is ready at once to enrich his journal with sage observations, like the following: "For want of hands, because the Pasha annually decimates the Fellahs by the military service, and by the intolerable burden of the taxes which he imposes upon them, the half of Egypt now lies waste, and a speedy violent change seems inevitable."

We passed a number of villages, and everywhere found numerous workmen employed on the canals and sluices. The Viceroy was universally received by the inhabitants with the national *Vivat!* the *Zugharit*, which consists in the utterance of a shrill tone, like the note of the bittern. These demonstrations of joy were entirely voluntary, for "the giving orders by the police" to utter such huzzas is quite unknown, and in fact impossible, in places where there is in truth no police. What surprised me was, the entire absence of servile manner in the Fellahs, who endeavoured to express their respect and loyal feelings only by the most simple salutation. Nay, the inhabitants of one village even came in a body and reproached the Viceroy for not having rested at noon among them, instead of having his tents pitched in the open fields about a league further on. The same unconstrained manners and frankness were also seen in the courtiers

and all the attendants; and the old servant of Mehemet Ali, who always rode, not behind him, but at his side, often spoke to his master without raising his hand to his face, which is otherwise *de rigueur*, and is equivalent to our touching the hat or cap. Other Fellahs came and demanded in a very violent manner, with clamorous noise, that they might not be compelled to work at a dam which the Viceroy has ordered, in the system of his great works, for the better irrigation of the land. These people were hashly reproached, and driven away by the saïs with their lifted sticks; but this was all, they did not strike a blow.

"This is always the way!" said Mehemet Ali, turning to me; "the work is unavoidable, for their own support, and yet they must be compelled to it. *I* must think for all, and one person for so many men is indeed too little." He then went into some detail on this subject, and assured me that it was only for imperatively necessary and indispensable objects that the Fellahs were compelled to work in *corvée*, and this only during three months in the year; during which time, besides, the villages were so divided, that only one-third of them had to work in each month; and therefore, in point of fact, every Fellah laboured for government *only one month in the year*. All works in new canals and sluices are performed for wages; and, unless in cases of the greatest necessity, nobody was compelled to take part in them. In future, however, he thought of employing the soldiers in these undertakings, in which his son had already made a beginning.

Allow me to insert on this occasion a few words respecting the beautiful and noble relation between Mehemet Ali and his son. Very far from the petty jealousy which in civilised Europe is so frequently a tacit law of the state, Ibrahim is not only constantly consulted, but the reins of government are placed with the fullest confidence in his hands, in the absence of the Viceroy. Thus at the present moment he fills his father's place at Cairo; and any wish which he may express seldom remains ungratified. On the other hand, it is beautiful to see the discretion with which Ibrahim, who is otherwise often so *brusque*, exercises this delegated power, and the filial respect with which he treats his father. It is really quite affecting to see this unbridled, victorious warrior, whose rank as a servant of the Porte, namely, as Pasha of Mecca, is superior to that of his father, never ventures, without being repeatedly called on by him, to sit down in his presence, and in his whole deportment never deviates, for a moment, from the most humble submissiveness; and yet it is evident that each is proud of the other: a most pleasing relation, which I have seldom seen in a similar sphere of life, and which commands universal respect. But in fact this combination of powers gives them double strength; and in the present conjunctures the one would scarcely be able to dispense with the other, however subordinate Ibrahim is in every respect to what his father now is, and what he was when at the same age as himself. It is only when at a distance from his father, as for instance in Syria, that Ibrahim sometimes commits follies, and indulges in an inju-

rious exercise of arbitrary authority: in Egypt he is an attentive subordinate to his father, and at the same time a diligent agriculturist.

When we reached the station where we were to dine, I usually, as well as Artim Bey and the other courtiers, rested half an hour in my tent, and refreshed myself with a pipe and coffee, while the indefatigable Viceroy often took a walk by himself. We then went to him, and, after a quarter of an hour's conversation, dinner was served, at which I was always alone with his Highness. After the repast was over, the Viceroy generally sat down on the divan. I took my seat, on his invitation, next him; Artim Bey, with a fly-flapper, took his place on the other side, and, as soon as coffee was brought, a gracious signal with the hand dismissed the courtiers and servants. This was the moment when Mehemet Ali gave the freest vent to his feelings, and spoke in the most confidential and candid manner. On this day he related to me many particulars of his life.

"I cannot last long," he said, leaning his head upon his hand, "for I had to suffer too much in my younger days. My whole life has been an uninterrupted combat. While I was still in my father's house in Macedonia, the great and the powerful oppressed the whole provinces with revolting despotism. One insurrection followed upon another, and our village united with others and attempted to repel force by force. But who commanded the insurgents at their conflicts? The young Mehemet Ali; and ill enough did he fare. I suffered so many defeats, that one of the most fortunate of my adversaries once called out to me in the

middle of the engagement, 'Are you not yet weary of being beaten, while I am already weary of beating you?' But we persevered, and in the sequel obtained part of our object."

He then proceeded to give an account of his long wars with the Mamelukes in Egypt. "They were brave men," said he, "and all my troops were so afraid of them that, if they had feared God half as much, they would have had certain title to eternal happiness in Paradise. At first the Mamelukes used no arms whatever against us; it was quite sufficient for them to beat their little drums to make all my men take to their heels, and I was of course obliged to follow them. My son, Tossum Pasha, and the rest of my relatives, had the same fate. Gradually, however, I taught my soldiers war by means of war, and God supported me. Flying on one side, I sometimes succeeded in surprising and cutting to pieces a little troop on the other. This gave us some courage. I continued indefatigably to organise my men whenever it was possible, placed myself at their head, and, after many a year of precarious warfare, during which our complete destruction seemed inevitable a hundred times, my perseverance was at length crowned by the most complete victory."

His lively imagination then passing over a long epoch, he continued: "And how did I fare in the last war with the court? I did not dream of what happened. Heaven is my witness, I desired only to remove from Acre my personal enemy, Abdullah Pasha, thus to take measures for my own security, and to make amicable arrangements with the Porte respecting

what was still to be done. But as I soon perceived, too clearly, that my destruction was contemplated at Constantinople, it was necessary that I should obviate it. At that time persons were sent to me from the capital, for the purpose of *advising* me not to engage in the insane enterprise of resisting the Sultan. I should consider, they said, what had been the melancholy fate of Paswan Oglu, of Ali Pasha, of the Pashas of Scutari, Bagdad, &c. I only laughed at their officiousness, and advised these worthy gentlemen to return as speedily as possible, and told them if they had any good advice to bestow, they could not do better than offer it to the Sultan, who had more need of it than I; for that all the Pashas they spoke of, taken together, had not possessed a fourth part of the power of Mehemet Ali, and consequently it might be as well to pause before they compelled him to make use of it. But a deaf ear was turned to this, and the result is known to all. Now, I repeat it, I wish only for one thing: to be left in peace to establish the happiness and the welfare of Egypt."

When I now recapitulated what he had been, and what he now was, in spite of all the obstacles he had met with, and extolled his good fortune, he made a peculiar remark: "Good fortune," said he, "is like a hurricane, which rapidly drives the ship into port; but, if the pilot has not a sound judgment, easily dashes the vessel to pieces. Good fortune is often more difficult to manage than bad." At these words, oppressed by the heat, which was almost intolerable, he took off his tarbush, and passing his hand over his bare crown, said, "This old head has long been grey."

"But not the less firm on that account," I replied, and looked at him with the eye of a phrenologist, which was the more easy as the hair was shorn off. It was a fine skull, with strongly marked organs; and remarkable for the circumstance, that, as in the case of that of Napoleon and Alexander, the animal part appeared as completely developed as the intellectual; one organ especially being peculiarly developed. His physicians afterwards confirmed to me the entire correctness of my observation, and spoke to me of immense powers in this respect, the like of which they had never met with; which again confirmed Napoleon's energetic declaration, *Qu'il n'y a pas de héros sans, &c.*

The Viceroy spoke with gratitude of the great services which several Europeans had rendered him, though he expressed himself with bitterness on the dishonesty and incapacity of others. The picture which he drew of the character of one of those whom he most esteemed, M. Cerisy, was very *naïf*. "It was impossible," said he, "to treat this man in an ordinary manner. He took fire at every word, and would never do anything according to *my* idea, but always according to his *own*. Once, I recollect, he vehemently reproached me for my impatience, by which he said I compelled him to do everything in a hurry, and to build bad ships; though, if I would give him proper time, he would build some that should be faultless. 'Don't be angry,' I replied calmly; 'for, notwithstanding what you now boast of, I know for certain that you will never be able to build me any better ships than your first.'

"As I said these words I saw the blood rush into

the face of this hot-headed man, and perceived that an explosion was coming on; when I checked him, and said, smiling, 'You blockhead, your ships, whether good or bad, conquered St. Jean d'Acre for me, and thereby all Syria, because *they were ready in time.* What would have been the use of the most perfect ships ever made, if, at the moment I wanted them, your carpenters had still been hammering at them in the arsenal?'

"But matters often went further than a mere joke. I had more disputes than one with him, and on the slightest occasion he demanded his discharge. However, I abided calmly by my determination, patiently overlooked what he sometimes ventured to undertake directly against my authority, and often employed my friend the French consul to appease him, for he always got into a passion without a reason. At length I lost him, which I shall always regret. When he was gone, some persons, thinking that he had fallen into disgrace, wanted to produce all kinds of accusations against him; but I forbade every one to speak to me either for or against him, for I consider that this man was sent me by God. He understood how to manage my business—not his own; others understand both; but the greater part only the last."

As we had only a short march to our night's quarters, we did not set out till the cool of the evening. This time I purposely remained behind, that I might not weary the Viceroy with my constant society, supped with Artim Bey, and the very amiable Dr. Gaetano; and was just on the point of retiring to bed, when, at about eleven o'clock, his

Highness unexpectedly sent me an invitation to pass an hour with him; a summons which I of course obeyed with the greatest readiness, though, to say the truth, I was half asleep.

I found the Viceroy employed in making up the despatches for his second *courrier*, and sitting on his couch. He always rises with the greatest politeness when I enter his tent, and did so this time, though he was in the midst of business. He begged me to sit down by his side, and to excuse him while he finished his despatches, which would soon be ready, and I might in the meantime look over the journals which had just been brought for him. Artim Bey presented them to me; it was the *Constitutionnel!* However, I took more interest in observing Mehemet Ali than in reading. He attentively looked through every paper that was presented to him, and in a low voice communicated the resolution to his secretary, who was standing close by. Whatever was finally decided he threw upon the carpet at his feet, and whatever needed further consideration he gave to the secretary, and sometimes consulted Artim Bey. Everything seemed to be done in a very simple, rapid, and practical manner. He had finished in a quarter of an hour; the secretary put up his papers, received some further orders, and withdrew.

Like a private citizen, who, after he has finished the business of the day, sits down at his ease and with quiet comfort smokes his last pipe, the Viceroy seated himself in the corner of his ottoman, which was covered with silk cushions, and having received two chibouks from his inexhaustible

collection, adorned with rich enamel and jewels, he exclaimed, "Now let us chat for half an hour before we go to sleep." This love of conversation he has in common with Napoleon, who, during his last campaign in Germany, frequently conversed with the Saxon General Gersthorf for hours together during the night, though the General spoke French so badly that the Emperor was, for the most part, obliged to repeat his phrases aloud before he could properly understand them.

I began by complimenting the Viceroy on his paying his officers more generously than any sovereign, those of England alone excepted, which must reasonably procure him good servants. "In time," exclaimed he, "this will doubtless be the case, but at present I am not able to do what I could wish." "Yet," said I, "according to European standard, at least, my assertion is very true; for the *apanage* of many of our German princes is far below the salary of your governor in Candia, and our generals and ministers do not possess a fourth part of the income of yours, though living is far more expensive in Europe than here; independently of which much more state is required from them." "In that case," said the Viceroy, "these officers are undoubtedly always the owners of considerable private property, and serve for the sake of the honour, whereas my servants have nothing but their salary to live upon." At this answer I involuntarily drew up my mouth, for all kinds of diverting recollections from home crossed my mind, but it would have been of no use whatever to mention them here, and so I turned the conversation upon England. After

some remarks on my part, Mehemet Ali said with a satirical look, "You seem to be no great admirer of the English." There are exceptions," said I, "and as a European, their artful, commercial, universal monarchy, which respects no power but their own, excites in me as humiliating a feeling as the despotic sway of Napoleon formerly did. On the other hand, I cannot deny them the greatest qualities, the most imposing, organically developed, and thoroughly formed national life, and the most glorious deeds. But it is a sad pity that they so frequently obscure these good qualities by their gross egotism and their intolerable arrogance: which latter is the more hateful because it is founded exclusively on their greater wealth, which, after all, they have contrived to obtain, directly and indirectly, only at the expense of others."

"That is in the nature of man," interrupted Mehemet Ali, "and ought not to be too much censured in the English. Wealth gives power; this naturally produces a feeling of independence, which, with human weakness, cannot wholly be without arrogance. Is not every class in England richer than on the Continent? And are there not many noblemen there who possess more than a million of Spanish dollars? How then can you expect such a people to be humble?" I could not but smile at the *argumentum ad hominem*, and giving way, began to speak of something else. But the conversation respecting money was as usual resumed with particular pleasure by the Viceroy. He again mentioned his project of the bank, and complained of the rooted disposition of the Egyptians to bury their money, instead of doubling it by use.

He seemed to be very well aware that it is not the amount of ready money, but its rapid circulation, and the credit thence arising, that forms the real wealth of a nation.

"This truth," continued he, "has always been present to my thoughts, and I have constantly disputed it with my ministers, who urged me to amass a great treasure against a time of need. I perseveringly objected that, to be able at a proper time to have much at your disposal, it was necessary not to let the money lie in coffers, but to employ it profitably; and, though I were daily reprimanded for it, I should never adopt any other opinion," he exclaimed. "I have given my subjects the example of a line of conduct conformable to this principle, and, if they one day themselves become active, they will imitate me, to their own advantage and mine."

He then spoke, with the greatest frankness, of his former ignorance; how he had sought by long and continued reflection to inform himself on every individual point, till he had at length discovered the truth, and after thoroughly investigating it, he retained in his memory all that he heard; and that when once sure of a point, he always acted rapidly, and did not suffer himself to be diverted from his purpose.

"I am blamed among other things," said he, "for having drawn to myself (and for my own sole advantage,) all the commerce of the country. If I had not done so, we should have had as good as no commerce at all, at least not to *our* advantage. I have already left a part of the inland trade to the competition of private persons, because I think I perceive

that the nation is slowly awaking from its sleep, and begins to comprehend the advantage which it offers. I am on the point of likewise giving a portion of the manufactures into the hands of speculators; but the trade with foreign countries I must retain in my own hands. Napoleon has already declared '*que les négocians de l'Europe sont des bandes organisées.*' We do not yet possess such bands, and my ignorant and indolent Egyptians would soon be the prey of the foreign merchants, if they were not opposed by one whom they will not find it so easy to cheat. If I one day find that the time is come, I shall in this respect also adopt another system; for do I not know that money is only the representative of produce? If my people become capable of making themselves rich, I will very readily leave the trouble which is connected with it to them, and hope that I shall not be the worse off for it; but I must be allowed to be a better judge than the editor of the *Journal de Smyrne*, of what may be advantageous to my people at one time, and what at another. The Franks have a good proverb which says, '*le mieux est l'ennemi du bien.*' I have always endeavoured to attain the last as far as it was possible, without thinking of the first when it was not attainable.

"Thus I found it necessary, above all things, to establish a solid and wealthy government in Egypt, and at the same time to labour incessantly at the better education of my people. In due time, what has been attained will doubtless serve as the foundation of something better; but he who wants to reach the goal at one leap, will never reach it at all. Much of what I do may appear harsh, and greater men than

I, have not been judged otherwise; but I must not suffer this to divert me. What I have heard of Peter the Great, for instance, convinces me that that prince, who had everything to create himself, proceeded ten times more capriciously and despotically than I do, and yet his nation, which formerly grumbled at him; as well as all posterity, have at length done him justice. I, too, expect that posterity will be my impartial judge; and if God should still grant me some years to work, and allow me the possibility of consolidating what has been begun, I do not fear its judgment. Why, at my advanced time of life, do I labour day and night,—why do I spare no pains, no exertion, no inconvenience, to see and to judge of everything as far as possible with my own eyes, if not to finish that great edifice which has long existed in my mind? I possess far more than enough for my own personal enjoyment, in all that I have acquired, and all the pleasures of earthly existence in the most comfortable repose are at my command; but if, instead of that, I harass myself with ceaseless labour, truly it cannot be from mere egotism. The glory and the consciousness of having founded the future durable prosperity of the countries which I govern—this is my dearest interest, and to this object alone my whole life is dedicated."

These words, uttered with fire and enthusiasm, were indeed not contrary to my view of Mehemet Ali's character, but they at the same time differed so widely from most of the accounts of this extraordinary man which have been propagated in foreign countries, that I listened to them with a mixed feeling of inward

satisfaction, and yet involuntary wonder and doubt, which could hardly be overcome even on hearing them from his own lips.

Our mode of living during the journey was so uniform, that I need not add anything concerning it; and the same may be said of the persons about us, and the appearance as well as the unparalleled fertility of the countries through which we passed. I have rarely found a man of any rank, who, if he pleases, can have more flattering and attractive manners than the Viceroy. The lively play of his eyes and of his whole countenance is then accompanied with such a delicate, good-natured, and benevolent expression, that you are involuntarily fascinated by it. In discussion he is full of moderation and patience, though I observed that he is not easily brought over to another opinion, but his courteous behaviour and eminent politeness never forsake him. Sometimes, when sitting by his side, and unconsciously lost in thought, I was waiting for some remarks from him to renew the conversation, he slowly inclined himself towards me, with that seductive grace which is peculiar to himself, and gently taking me by the arm, said, "Now do tell me what you are thinking of so profoundly at this moment?" and I always felt compelled, as by magnetism, to tell him the very truth, though it might not always be in season; but he invariably received it in the kindest and most unembarrassed manner; and in general I could not but be struck that, even when we touched upon the most ticklish subjects in his own life, he was never put out in the least, or betrayed the slightest discomposure. This

appears to me to be a certain indication, that this man, in everything that he has done, has been true to himself; and as long as a man remains so, he has at bottom nothing to reproach himself with.

Even some of Mehemet Ali's trivial habits do not seem offensive in him, though in other men they would appear almost ridiculous. Thus, when he relates anything, he often pauses, and before he begins again uses the word "shendy" (*now, well,* &c.) far more frequently than necessary; but there is something so eager, confidential, and *naïf*, in these otherwise useless repetitions; he gives the word so many different modulations, and there is something in his tone so free from affectation, such a simply good-natured expression, that this favourite word, in my opinion, only imparts a singular charm to those narratives, which are invariably so strikingly lively and dramatic. He has likewise some other peculiarities, which, however, arise more from the general manners of Turks of distinction, than from personal eccentricities; thus, for instance, he never carries anything about him. If he is sitting on the divan, his snuff-box and pocket-handkerchief lie by his side; but when he is on horseback, both are carried by a servant, who always rides at his side. If he asks for either of these, his servant gives it to one of the saïs, who run by the side of the Viceroy's horse holding on by the housings, when the road is up-hill support his back, and in difficult places take the horse by the bridle. The saïs deliberately presents the pocket-handkerchief or the snuff-box to the Viceroy, who, when he has used it, returns it to the saïs, who delivers

it to the keeping of the servant; a very round-about way, truly, of blowing your nose, or taking a pinch of snuff.

The above-mentioned confidential servant frequently attracted my attention; he was a true character—the ideal of a squire in romance of olden time, such as we no longer meet with in real life. In his angular features, furrowed by many an internal and external storm, was painted unflinching resolution, implicit devotedness, adamantine fidelity, and an attention which never relapsed a moment, to the service of his master, of whom he hardly ever lost sight. He has already served Mehemet Ali thirty years, and may be about fifty, and his dapple-grey horse, which, in strength and hardihood, resembles the steed of an ancient knight, appeared likewise to have served not a few years in common with him. The behaviour of this man towards the Viceroy was indeed full of respect, but combined with that familiarity, which the circumstance of having lived so long together, and of having together shared so many important vicissitudes, alone can give. It was evident that this man wholly belonged to his master, that *self* was entirely lost, and that every hint of the master for good or for evil, in the most dangerous as well as in the most common services, would be unhesitatingly attended to. Both master and servant must have possessed yet greater qualities to establish such an intimacy, and something great, too, perhaps, in the fortunes of the master, whom the other had followed in prosperity and adversity for many years. Oriental primitive characters are probably requisite for such a service; for Napoleon, as soon as the star of his

fortune set, was basely forsaken by his French mameluke, Rustan.

When Mehemet Ali spoke as regent, as legislator, as soldier, as the reformer of his country, he always appeared to me a distinguished character; but the candid observer will not be surprised that, when science or art formed the subjects of conversation, the same man manifested but little taste for the latter; and, from want of early instruction, fell into the strangest, nay most incredible errors with respect to the former. Our passion in looking for antiquities and works of art, and our raptures at the sight of these old fragments, were an inexplicable enigma to him; still less could I make him comprehend, that besides gardening, agriculture, and plantations of useful timber, a man could undertake the improvement and adorning of a whole country by landscape gardening and tasteful design, merely for the gratification of the eye and mind. He always asked what benefit was derived from it? and when, for instance, I commended the picturesque contour of a chain of mountains which we passed, he lamented that they could not be irrigated, and, consequently, made to produce anything; and once he laughed very heartily, when I said that to afford a better prospect in the distance, of the promenades so splendidly laid out by Ibrahim in the immediate vicinity of Cairo, it would be desirable to plant the neighbouring desert. "As long as we have good land in Egypt that may be cultivated," said he, "we shall certainly not think of the desert."

He is, however, very sensible of the use of avenues of trees, and has ordered all the dams and the ground

thrown up from the canals, to be ornamented with them. Several attempts of the kind, however, failed here as at Alexandria, through the dislike and indolence of the owners, who neglected or destroyed them. This Vandalism, which is found in all the uneducated classes, is gradually giving way. Artim Bey's looks often seemed to mock me; and when, in the sequel, such expressions as romantic, picturesque, &c., escaped me, he generally left them untranslated in our conversation, as entirely out of place and unintelligible; I therefore soon took it as a hint in the choice of my subject.

With respect to the wonderful confusion of the Viceroy's historical knowledge, the following instance may serve:—

He was fond of speaking of his countryman, Alexander, and asked all kinds of questions respecting the particulars of his history, with which, on the whole, he was very well acquainted. Once I said, that an architect from Alexandria is reported to have proposed to the Greek hero, a plan for converting Mount Athos, which is opposite Mehemet Ali's native village, into a statue of Alexander. Not without some irony, Mehemet Ali asked, whether this was merely a picturesque idea, or whether the architect had at the same time presented an estimate of the expense. I replied that I could not state any thing positive on the subject, but that the treasures and powers of the conqueror of Asia would have fully sufficed for such a colossal undertaking. "I do not at all believe," interrupted the Viceroy, "that Alexander was so rich. All these rulers of the old world must have

been poor devils, in comparison with those of the present time; for otherwise the Romans, who came so long after Alexander, and possessed for so many centuries far more countries than he did, would not have had merely small silver and copper coin." He would not give up this strange idea, that it was only since the discovery of America and of its mines, that there is so much treasure and ready-money in the world. That the Romans were very poor, he said he would immediately give me a proof. "In the time of the Regent Philip of Orleans, a Turkish ambassador," he said, "was sent to Paris, and there saw a stud which was at that time very famous. Nothing, however, astonished him more, than the luxurious dwellings of all the officers of the stables, and the splendour of the stalls, the mangers being all of marble. When he expressed his amazement to the courtier who was ordered to attend him, the latter exclaimed almost angrily, 'What! have you so mean an opinion of the greatness of the French nation? Know that every groom among us, is better lodged than the Roman emperor in his palace.' Though this," continued the Viceroy, "might be only a French boast, yet it proves that the Roman emperor must have had the reputation of being very ill lodged; consequently that his people must have been poor, which considering that they had only copper coin, is very natural."

Such ignorance certainly appears droll to us; but when we put ourselves in the place of a Turk who had not the least education, who began to learn, of his own accord, to read and write, when he was thirty-five

years of age, and yet has passed through a life marked, it may be said, by daily deeds, with the rarest genius; such a deficiency, if equitably judged of, will be acknowledged to be only a small spot in the sun. Yet I have purposely not refrained from concealing this weak side of the great man, in order that I may not pass for a partial encomiast; and who knows whether Godfrey de Bouillon, and many other lauded heroes of the middle ages, might not have proved still more ignorant than Mehemet Ali, on an examination upon subjects of this kind; and, after all, what is our own "Conversations Lexicon" learning worth, in a life which, for the most part, passes away with as little activity as a cabbage-plant?

In the course of the day, we rode past a large manufactory, which I took for a palace of his Highness, because, being of a dazzling white, backed by a palm grove, it really gave a brilliant appearance to the whole country. Forgetting my resolution, I said to the Viceroy, that this country would have a far more picturesque effect in the eyes of travellers, if he ordered all the villages, which are now so dirty, to be white-washed. "In time," replied he, almost vexed: "I cannot do everything at once, and before I think of white-washing the outside of the villages, there must be more comfort within, than now is, or can be the case. Yes!" he exclaimed, "I wish to live only ten years more, and that I hope will suffice to advance my work so far, that my children may be able to carry it on in peace, and then govern more happy subjects." I ventured once more to observe, that considering the undiminished powers of his body and mind, he might

himself be spared to witness that happy result; and that I rejoiced in the anticipation of being able to converse with him on these points ten years hence, when I confidently hoped that, instead of consuls, I should find him surrounded by the ambassadors of foreign powers.

"Well," replied he, cheerfully, and in the utmost good humour, "if I am alive ten years hence, I will send an express messenger to Europe to invite you, that you may judge for yourself whether I have kept my word. Some morning, when you have long since forgotten me, you will see a Turk in rich costume riding into the court-yard of your castle, and, with a greeting from old Mehemet Ali, challenge you to pay a second visit to Egypt."

"I take your Highness at your word, with the warmest thanks," I replied; "and if I am alive, and as well as at the present moment (upon which indeed all future plans are contingent), you may securely reckon upon seeing me. The promise that was given to a Highness, I hope to perform to Majesty." "La, la," replied the Viceroy, stroking his white beard, "I want no title, and have never in my life signed any other title than Mehemet Ali."

On the following day, while dining at a large village, of which I forgot to write down the name, the Viceroy's very beautiful little Nile fleet happened to arrive there, and I took advantage of his *siesta* to view his "Dahabia," in company with Artim Bey. It is the most elegant little vessel of the kind I have ever seen, though doubtless Cleopatra's gorgeous galley infinitely excelled it. The principal apartment,

to which the utmost height and space were allowed, is ornamented with raised work of sea-green and gold; the drapery is rich violet-coloured velvet, trimmed with gold fringes; the divans, which run all round, are of the same costly material, adorned with gold lace and tassels. The window-frames of gilt metal, with plate-glass, which let down as in a carriage, are shaded by blinds of varnished green. The same elegance is displayed in the sleeping and dressing rooms. The ante-chamber, which is used as a dining room, is formed of a magnificent tent of Persian silk, embroidered with yellow. The little boat glided rapidly along, even with a contrary wind, being rowed in measured time by twenty-four blacks, dressed in uniform; when proceeding against the stream, it is drawn by fifty Fellahs, who are relieved every half hour, and go at the rate of a fleet horse.

When I afterwards spoke to Mehemet Ali of my visit to the flotilla, he mentioned that the Nile is now navigated by upwards of 6000 barks, of which 2000 are his own property.

During supper he related many interesting details of the period when he, for the first time, definitely attained unlimited power over Egypt, of which I have already given a short sketch in another place. On my expressing my regret that he had not dictated these interesting memoirs to some European, in order that they might be preserved to history, he uttered these memorable words:—"Why should I *do so?* I do not love this period of my life; and what could the world profit by the recital of this interminable tissue of combat and misery, cunning and bloodshed, to which circumstances imperatively compelled me? Who

could derive pleasure from such a disgusting detail? It is enough if posterity knows that all that Mehemet Ali has attained, he owes neither to birth nor interest—to no one but himself. My history, however, shall not commence till the period when, free from all restraint, I could arouse this land, which I love as my own country, from the sleep of ages, and mould it to a new existence."

"How strange," he exclaimed, "that of seventeen children I should be the only one who survived! Nine of my brothers died in their infancy, and this induced my parents to bring me up like a gentleman. Hence, I soon became effeminate and indolent; my young companions began to despise me, and used frequently to cry out, 'What will become of Mehemet Ali, who has nothing and is fit for nothing!'

"This at length made a deep impression upon me, and at the age of fifteen I resolved to vanquish myself. I often fasted for days together, or compelled myself to refrain from sleep for a similar period, and never rested till I had outstripped all my companions in bodily exercises. I well recollect our laying a wager one very stormy day, to row over to a small island, which still remains in my possession. I was the only one who reached it; but although the skin came off my hands, I would not suffer the most intense pain to divert me from my purpose. In this manner I continued to invigorate both mind and body, till, as I have already told you, I afterwards found ample opportunity in a graver sphere of action, to prove my courage to myself and others during the petty warfare in our villages.

After the death of my father, and when I had attained my nineteenth year, a still more favourable occasion presented itself. The Greek pirates began to commit various depredations, and my uncle, at the instigation of several of the wealthy Turkish landholders who were bent on his ruin, was appointed to the command of a small man-of-war belonging to the Sultan, with orders to go in search of the pirates and destroy their trade. My uncle was forced to go; but he first waited on the Pasha, and represented to him that his property and business must inevitably fall to ruin, should he be thus suddenly called upon to abandon them for an uncertain length of time, there being no one in his family to whom he could entrust their charge. At the same time he pleaded his own incapacity, and took the opportunity of proposing me, as an enterprising young man and accustomed to war. He succeeded in persuading the Pasha; nothing could be more to my wishes; and I had the good luck to give chase to the robbers, and after a short pursuit, to board their vessel and take the survivors prisoners. For this action I received the commission of a captain in the Turkish navy, in my twentieth year. My rapid promotion, however, excited the envy of many, and even of my uncle, who soon after, possibly not with the best intentions, sent me to Egypt. How little did I then anticipate the destinies which awaited me in this country!—but God's ways are wonderful."

"You may esteem yourself highly favoured," said Artim Bey to me after I had taken leave, "to learn particulars like these from the lips of this great man

himself; I assure you that even we have not heard them before. Indeed I have never seen Mehemet Ali so communicative with any one."

I cannot deny that I received this intimation as a highly flattering compliment.

Early on the following morning, Mehemet Ali desired that I should ride out with him; "for in travelling," said he, "we must pass away the time in conversation." Conversation, however, was rendered almost impossible, by the intense heat, and the intolerable clouds of dust, raised by some hundreds of camels and horses, in which we were completely enveloped, by the wind which blew on our back. Even Mehemet Ali himself could hold out no longer; he commanded a halting-place to be prepared in a grove of the prickly acacia. In an instant the ground was covered with carpets, over which his attendants spread a scarlet cloth, bordered with gold fringe, at either end of which they placed velvet cushions for his Highness and myself, where we reclined with as much ease as on a bed. We had scarcely sat down, when, as if at the beck of the spirit of Aladdin's lamp, I beheld in the midst of this solitude attendants bearing golden cups filled with cold punch and other sherbets, which were immediately succeeded by pipes and coffee. "Well," cried Mehemet Ali, after taking a few whiffs, "why do you not speak? I have scarcely heard ten words from you to-day."

I must confess that I was so completely overcome by the heat, dust, and exhaustion, that I knew not what to say. With my usual candour, I did not try to conceal it; adding, "I have been thinking for some

time what topic I could introduce that would be interesting to your Highness, but I always discovered, to my mortification, that you were already better informed upon it than myself." At this he laughed, saying, that a person who had seen so much of the world need never be at a loss for conversation, if he pleased. Being thus summoned, I thought this a favourable moment to introduce on the *tapis* a subject to which no one has of late ventured to allude in the presence of the Viceroy. These matters would be out of place here, but the result convinced me that the scattered seed has fallen upon no unfruitful soil.

I introduced this little scene merely to show *qu'il faut un peu payer de sa personne avec son Altesse*, if you would maintain both the fire of communicativeness, as well as his ready humour for it, at an equal pitch. Though very inquisitive, he is not easily satisfied with commonplace topics, like many other great personages, and detects the slightest flaw in an instant. He pushed me very hard on more than one occasion; which is not saying much, as I am naturally shy, and do not possess the courage of coming forward in public. I have never appeared on a private theatre without a tremour—how much more then upon the great stage of the world? Yet I have, nevertheless, frequently succeeded in gaining the mastery.

We embarked at Djirjeh, after which I did not see his Highness till I waited upon him at Keneh, to take leave before prosecuting my journey. I had just returned from visiting the Temple of Denderah, which is choked up, in a most disgraceful manner, by rubbish, and the remains of wretched huts. As the

Viceroy had always invited me to the utmost freedom in expressing my opinions, I frankly told him that he was much blamed in Europe for his utter neglect of the ancient monuments, of which his country contained the finest specimens in the world, and that it was a duty which he owed to his own high renown to set a good example in this particular. "Your Highness," I continued, "has now the finest opportunity immediately before you. The Temple of Denderah is one of the best preserved in Egypt; it is not buried beneath the sand of the desert, which is so difficult to remove, but merely choked up by filth and rubbish. One word from you, and it would arise almost in its ancient splendour." "Well, well," replied Mehemet Ali, "I will, for your sake, give a proof of my European civilisation." He instantly summoned the Mudir, and gave him the most explicit orders, not merely to clear the remains of the three temples at Denderah, but likewise to level the whole of the surrounding space, and to enclose it with a fence, as a protection against future injuries.

I therefore flattered myself that, here, as in Tunis, I had not neglected the favourable moment to render some service to the lovers of antiquity, for the sake of which they might be induced to forgive me for being so brief and superficial in my descriptions of the monuments which I visited, because I liked neither to repeat nor to transcribe what they would find more ably and circumstantially given in numerous other works.*

* So I flattered myself; but when I returned, six months afterwards, I beheld, with shame and mortification, that not a spade had

Before my departure, I was indebted for another great pleasure to his Highness, who had the politeness to send me letters from home, which were forwarded in the bag of his courier,—their writer little anticipating the illustrious hand through which they would pass.

A brisk wind filled our sails; the same night, while we were yet asleep, we reached Thebes, the city with its hundred gates; and when we rose in the morning, the first sight of its wondrous and gigantic monuments almost produced the impression that we were still dreaming.

been applied to the clearance of the Temple, a proof that the orders given to the Mudir in my presence had not been carried into effect; and perhaps Mehemet Ali never entertained any serious intentions of setting about what he deemed such a distasteful and useless undertaking, my zealous advocacy of which he no doubt regarded as a European delusion, which he ought to treat with the same indulgence which the Turks extend to every species of insanity. I have, however, been assured that Mehemet Ali's orders have since been partially commenced.

END OF VOL. I.

NOTICE

The Second Volume of the Work will be published in a few days.

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